

The Story of the Nations.

BRITISH INDIA.

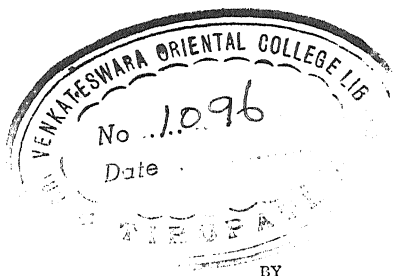


THE STORY OF THE NATION

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PREFACE.

HAVE considered it best not to include in foot-note or in the body of this short Story of Indian History references to the many authorities I have consulted. To have done so would have broken the narrative and been of no service to the reader for whom the story is intended. As far as possible original sources of information have been relied on, while all recent works of any importance on Indian History have been read or consulted. To the numerous works of Sir W. Wilson Hunter—including the “Rule of India” Series he has edited—I would especially acknowledge indebtedness, and this with particular gratitude as it was his writings which first, over twenty-five years ago, inspired me with a love for India and its people.

- "India," by Mr. F. C. Danvers, have valuable and suggestive.

Throughout the Story attention is laid more on the main factors which led to the growth and expansion of British Empire in India, than on details of military operations or of administrative measures.

The early history of commerce between the East and the West, the gradual passing of that commerce from the Mediterranean to the Indian route round the Cape of Good Hope, the struggle between the Dutch, French, and English for predominance which ultimately resulted in the complete possession of the seas and absolute control over the Eastern trade, are traced in a way calculated to enable the reader to gain a clear view of the primary factors underlying British rule in India. The gradual decay of the Mughal Empire and loosening of all controlling elements in the outlying principalities are shown to be the result of secondary elements which left India without the statesmancraft of Hastings, which would have kept British influence from its secure base at Calcutta, of the Ganges—where it had been established by Clive—across India to Bombay in the west, and to Madras in the south.

deavoured to give an unbiassed account of the career and policy of Warren Hastings.

The further conquests and acquisitions by a long series of Governors-General, from those of the Marquis Wellesley down to the annexation of Upper Burma, in the present day, by Lord Dufferin, have been but the inevitable results of the policy inaugurated by Clive and Hastings.

The important article, by Sir W. Wilson Hunter, in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review* for 1896, detailing the discovery by him of evidence that as early as 1681 a movement was started by Feilich Bishop of Oxford, for the purpose of the "Conversion of the Natives" to Christianity, was unfortunately received too late for reference in the account of education and early efforts made for the spread of Christianity in India.

Miss E. J. Beck has kindly placed at my disposal two photographs taken by her, and reproduced on pages 55 and 338; while to the kindness of the publishers of Mr. James Samuelson's "India Past and Present," I am indebted for permission to reproduce the photograph on page 293.

The spelling of Indian words is that adopted by the Government of India in Sir W. Wilson Hunter's *Gazetteer of India*:—*a* as in woman; *á* as in father.



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THE STORY OF BRITISH INDIA

I.

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN COMMERCE.

THE strange story of the rise and fall of one mighty nation is one to which we dare not close our eyes, firm though our belief may be in the abiding strength of the material resources of our own civilisation. The story tells how other civilisations crumbled to pieces amid all the pride and glory of their manhood; it tells how nation after nation, city after city, rose to opulence and power as each in turn became the centre of commerce between the East and the West, only to sink into insignificance and decay as if they had been struck by magic, when the course of that commerce drifted elsewhere.

brought indigo and muslins from India, wares from far-off China, and the fame was great, the memory of their going so long in fable. The great King Sesostri, as narrated by the historian Diodorus, sent forth, even before the days of Moses, four hundred sail into the Red Sea . . . Asia . . . passed over the river Ganges, pierced through all India to the main.

Again in the rich alluvial tracts lying between the Tigris and Euphrates the Babylonians once held sway, surrounded by all the splendour of wealth and luxury. They sent forth to bring from India the teak wood, the people of the city of Ur builded the temples with the gold of the East, with which they adorned the temples; the Indian muslins, silks, pearls of more value than fine gold. Diodorus, two thousand years before Christ, tells us that Semiramis carried overland a fleet of a thousand boats to the Indus, which she led by the head of three million foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen, and then fought the Scythians only to fall back defeated herself in many places.

TYRE MISTRESS OF THE SEAS.

Carthage, to Tarshish in Spain, round Libya, till we are told by Herodotus, the sun was on the right, the Phœnician ships sailed, some going East down the Red Sea to Arabia and Ophir.

When Solomon received a mandate from his father David to build the Temple to Jehovah, he sent from Tyre that he summoned wise men to bring back spices and frankincense from the land of the Queen of Sheba, gold and silver, sandal-wood, ivory, apes, and peacocks from the land of Ophir, that the Temple might be adorned and Solomon succeed "all the kings of the earth for riches and wisdom." He founded "Tadmor in the Wilderness" as a resting-place for the caravans travelling across the desert towards Babylon, the "city of merchants" where were gathered together embroidered vestments and woven carpets, shawls of many colours, gems and pearls and brazen vessels brought from the Indies, from Malabar, Ceylon, and the further East by the Arabian mariners.

Tyre resisted all the continued efforts of the Assyrians to destroy her commercial prosperity: she remained the mistress of the seas only to fall before the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar, in 585 B.C., of her it had been foretold by the Prophet Ezekiel.

Phœnicia and Syria through Tadmor to the Persians. Under Darius Hystaspes the Persian Empire advanced its conquests as far as the Indus, whence it drew a yearly tribute of 500 talents of gold, employing in its army 120,000 soldiers, who, clothed in white coats, and armed with bows and arrows, marched with music to Greece and fought under Mardonius.

It was not until the time of Alexander the Great that the trade from India once more found an ancient route down the Persian Gulf, through Palmyra, the Tadmor of olden times, to the cities of the Mediterranean.

Alexander the Great, born in 356 B.C., the son of his father, Philip of Macedon, at the death of which he had first curbed the northern barbarians. Having first curbed the northern barbarians under Attalos, came swarming down upon Persia. From the Danube, he razed Tyre, reduced Syria and Egypt to submission, and captured the city of Alexandria. He then passed on to the East, where he broke in pieces the empire of Darius, swept up the wealth of Babylon and Persia, and avenged the insults that Mardonius had offered to the altars of Greece, leaving nought to tell of

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

unjáb, in a pitched battle near the well-known modern battlefield of Chilianwála, where, in memory of his victory, he established a city which he called Prokephala, after his charger Bucephalus, slain during the conflict.

Many are the stories told of the marvels seen by Alexander and his soldiers in their marches through the sacred land of the Five Rivers. With awe-stricken wonder they had seen elephants seize armed soldiers in battle and hand them to their drivers for slaughter; they had seen in the dense forests serpents glittering like gold, whose sting was death, and pythons of huge girth capable of swallowing a deer; they had heard of ants, the colour of cats and the size of Egyptian wolves, that dug up the gold hid in the sands of the deserts of Afghánistán, and mangled the Indians who came on camels to carry off the precious metal; they had seen fierce dogs seize lions and allow their limbs to be cut off one by one before they relinquished their hold; they had razed the cities of the Kathians, of whom it was told that their custom was to burn widows along with their deceased husbands; they had listened when Alexander was rebuked by the Indian sages, who told him that of all his conquests nothing would remain to him but

to their eyes than all others, awaited sailed down the Indus for the phenomenon as yet unknown to them up the river, tossing on its mighty ships, while, in the words of the historians, "to add to their terror, monstrous creatures of aspect, which the sea had left, were about." The rising tide rescuing their position, Alexander's invading army turned back on India, leaving behind more colonies of Macedonians and allies in the Punjáb, and Sind.

From the writings of the several historians who accompanied the king on their raid into India, the Western world has its first reliable accounts respecting the religious life of the people of India in this period.

After the death of Alexander, India (conquered) and Bactria fell to Seleucus, who made an alliance with the renowned Chandragupta, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage, sending Megasthenes to reside as ambassador at the capital Palibothra, said to be a mighty city ~~many times longer~~ by

EAST AND WEST.

Asoka, the Great, ascended the throne about 260 B.C. and from the inscriptions which he caused to be engraved on rocks we learn that the intercommunication between the East and the West was close enough at this period to enable him to send forth missionaries to Antiochus of Syria, to Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, to Antigonus of Macedon, to Megasthenes of Cyrene, and to Alexander of Epirus, to proclaim in their lands the gospel of self-control and respect for all life as taught by Buddha.

Pliny, who died 79 A.D., lamented the drain of gold from Rome to India, which in his days amounted to the sum of £2,000,000 sterling, sent annually in exchange for silks, pearls, sapphires, gems, cinnamon, spices, and other Eastern luxuries, for which fabulous sums were paid, and Roman coins of all the emperors, from Augustus to Hadrian, are still dug up in numbers all over South India.

It is now almost certain that from the West, probably through Palmyra, India first learned to construct architectural buildings and to carve in stone, having, previous to the invasion of Alexander the Great, worked out her own artistic ideals, as far as we know, in wood.

There still remains unexplained the strange r

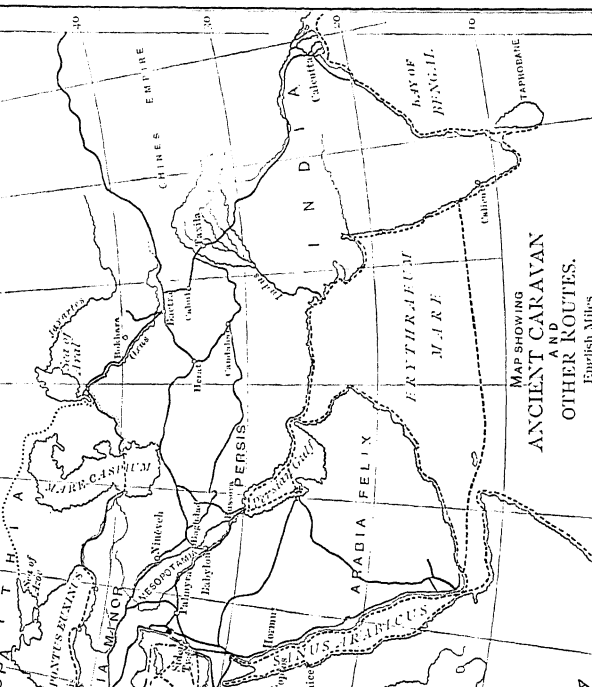
such as Aryabhatta and Varāha Mihira adopted the Greek zodiac and its signs, and made use of the Greek names slightly modified.

There were many routes by which communication of ideas, religious, artistic, and commercial, have taken place. There was the way by the Persian Gulf through Palmyra, which became so renowned that Aurelian, by his wealth and power, razed it to the ground and carried off its Queen Zenobia. The ships also sailed from India and the further they came close to the coast till they reached India, the Red Sea, whence the goods were carried to Coptos, thence down the Nile to Alexandria. Such emperors as the cruel and dissolute Commodus, the plundering barbarian Caracalla, and the infamous Eleogabalus, the wealth that flowed from the East through Alexandria to the capital of Rome passed away to Constantinople in 320 A.D., and to the rising cities along the Mediterranean.

So the trade between the East and the West and flourished till suddenly a new power claiming for itself the temporal and spiritual supremacy over the whole known world.

MUHAMMAD.

to his followers, who now came swarming from the
 ents, drunk with a new religious fanaticism, eager
 seek fresh homes in the stately palaces of the lan
 they were soon to overrun.



Constantinople—then extended the borders of the Mediterranean being obeyed from the Atlantic while in Persia the ancient dynasty of Darius had been reinstated when in the third century, was proclaimed king of Zoroaster, the belief in Ormuz, the contending powers of light and darkness restored.

In answer to the summons of the Roman emperor, Heraclius, from Arabia, sent back presents ; the monarch tore the letters he received and scattered it to the winds, hearing and swore that so he would scatter the

Within the space of eight years Heliopolis, Jerusalem, Aleppo and the Crescent, and Syria passed hundred years under the sway of Muhammad, Persia falling in 636 of Kadesia. In 640 Amru marched took possession of Alexandria, the conquerors in command of the Persian Gulf, the two great trade East.

ute, and to avoid the duties enforced at Alexandria amounting to one-third the value of all produce exported, Venice, founded in 452 A.D., on the islets of the Adriatic by fugitives from North Italy, strove incessantly, knowing well that alone by a command of the Eastern trade could she rise to be mistress of the seas. To the pilgrims of the Fourth Crusade she agreed to give shipping if they would but for ever forget their holy mission and aid in reducing her rival Constantinople. The compact was made. In 1204 Constantinople fell, the rich homes of its peaceful citizens being given over to rapine and flames, its treasures, the finest and most prized that the world has ever known, being broken in pieces and plundered underfoot by the marauding crusaders and hired mercenaries of the merchants of Venice. Count Baldwin of Flanders was enthroned Emperor of the East, the Venetians holding the forts to gain command over the Eastern trade. Of these advantages on the Black Sea Venice was, however, soon deprived by Genoa, Pisa, and Florence—cities now eager to enter into the competition for the monopoly of the gemstones, and silks of India sent to the further West in exchange for Easterling or sterling silver. Pisa gave up the struggle after her defeat at Meloria in 1284.

Novgorod in Russia, to the market of the Hanseatic League, and to a yard or warehouse on the Thames.

In these Western cities it was the costly goods they so prized came by the way there was unknown.

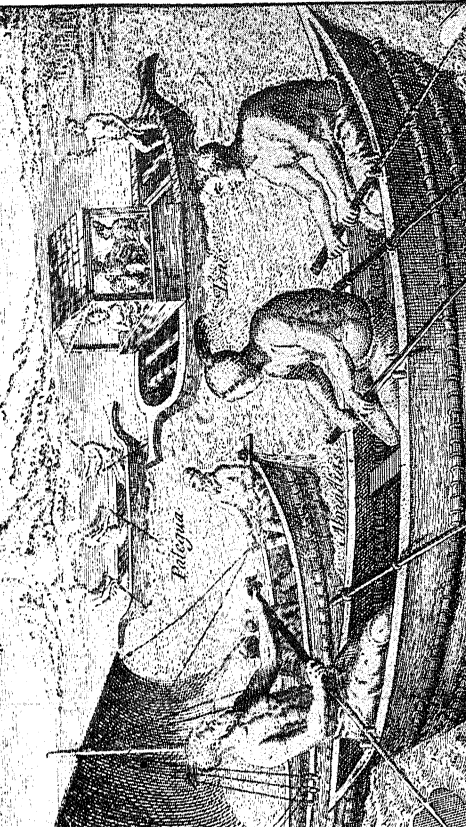
Henry the Navigator spent his life to discover how his ships might sail sailing round Africa. In 1486 he went south with three ships, and called "The Cape of Tempests" "The Cape of Good Hope" by him.

In 1492 Columbus, a Genoese, rendered services in vain to Genoa, Portugal, sailed away to the West, hoping to find a new world, and discovered America.

When Emmanuel succeeded to the throne of Portugal, he resolved to send his household, Vasco da Gama, to India beyond the wild southern seas.

On the 8th of July, 1497, Vasco sailed from the Tagus with three ships, the *Gabriel* the *San Rafael*, and the *Santa Catharina*, some 100 to 120 tons burden, having in all to 170 men.

Small Indian Vessels used on the Coast of Malabar



Vasco da Gama at once placed the charts and instruments overboard, declaring that God was his aid and other aid he required not; in fact, neither he nor any of the crews were to see Portugal. So the ships had to return, the sailors dying of scurvy, a disease for the first time in history. Their length rewarded. Eleven months after leaving home they sighted the west coast of India, cast anchor near the city of the Zamorin of the Seas, whence many people came to the beach, wondering greatly at the ships.

The Zamorin and his Indian subjects were anxious to open up a friendly intercourse with Gama and his sailors, but the Arabs and Moors, as they were called, who for centuries had held in their own hands the trade of the west coast of India and the Persian Gulf, were unwilling to see any rivals in the spice business. Having succeeded in inducing Gama to come on shore, they carried him to various pretexts through the malarial regions bordering the coast, hoping that he

back and wage a war of extermination against the Moors—a vow which he and his successors afterwards barbarously and ruthlessly endeavoured to fulfil. From Calicut he sailed to Cannanore, where we hear, as recorded by Correa¹ in his account of Vasco da Gama's voyages, of one of the many strange customs in the East. It is there recorded, “that of India they are much addicted to astrology and diviners. . . . According to what I have learned later, there had been in this country of Cannanore a diviner so diabolical in whom they trusted so much that they wrote down all that he said and preserved it like prophecies that were to pass. They held a legend from him that he had said that the whole of India would be ruled over by a very distant king, of a different people, who would do great harm to them; and they were not their friends; and this was to happen a long time later, and he left signs of this to be seen. In consequence of the great desire to know by the sight of these ships, the king was very desirous of knowing what they were, and he sent to his diviners, asking them to tell him who they were those and whence they came.

because the period which had been
was concluded."

The king and his counsellors were
the truth of this prophecy, that they
Portuguese with great honour and friend
on them more presents and goods th
stored away in the ships, which were
sail away with ample cargoes of pepp
ginger, cloves, mace, and nutmegs.

Such was the commencement of
history of commerce between the East and
Vasco da Gama reached Portugal in
great delight of the king, who immediat
the title of "Lord of the Conquest, Na
Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia,
a title confirmed in 1502 by a Bul
Alexander VI.

The profits of the voyage being found
times the expenses incurred, King Em
mined to send to the East "another
great and strong ships which could
cargo, and which, if they returned in
bring him untold riches."

Vasco da Gama never forgave the Mo
treatment of him on his first arrival at Ca

DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

as springing from the irresponsible actions of a chance decision of battles.

Alfonso de Albuquerque, the next Viceroy, determined by the prowess and valour of his European soldiers he could establish a lasting empire for Portugal in the East. In 1510 he captured Goa, which soon grew to be the wealthiest and most powerful port in the East; he reduced Ormuz, thus closing the Persian Gulf to the Arab traders; he built a fort on Socotra to command the Red Sea, and left a post from the Cape of Good Hope to China in the hands of his successors.

Portugal held the commerce of the East, sending her ships north to Bruges, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and a brave band of Augsburg, until she became unwieldy when the Dutch, who, until then, had in 1572 shaken off

Bound to the mast no longer trade with Lisbon.
Waves his proud swarth, determining not to be
Though winds and sea the Eastern trade, sent to
To yield he knows not, east, hoping to discover some

With fierce wrath the Viceroy something of its cost
death of his son. He

the city of Dabhol, scattered Armada in 1588 left
ed native fleet of two hundred English to sail south

brated book, in which he gave a full description of the route to India as well as of the commerce carried on there by the Portuguese. In 1591 he was dispatched four ships under Cornelius de Witt, to round the Cape of Good Hope; and factories were set up in Ceylon and on the coast of India, and in the farther East, from Java to Japan and China.

By this time news had also reached Europe of the wealth of India. Thomas Stevens, an Englishman who ever visited India, had sailed to Goa in 1579 and had become Rector of the College at Salsette. From there, in 1580, he written to his father, he aroused the interest of the English people in the East by the description he gave of the trade of the Portuguese and the wealth of the land.

In 1583 three English merchants, James Newberry, and William Lee, were sent to land for India. They were made prisoners by the Portuguese at Ormuz, to the dismay of the English, who wrote: "It may be that they will kill us, or keepe us long in prison, God's will be done." They were, however, spared, and sent home. When they saw Thomas Stevens and the

oods which they call Pagodes. Some bee like
owe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some
ke peacockes, and some like the devill." Golcond
described as "a very faire towne, pleasant, with
fire houses of bricke and timber." Fitch then made
s way to Masulipatam, on the east coast, "whether
ome many shippes out of India, Pegu and Sumatra
ery richly laden with pepper, spices and other
ommodities." Agra is described as "a very great
tie and populous, built with stone, having fair
nd large streetes." "Fatepore Sikri and Agra are
wo very great cities, either of them much greater
han London and very Populous. Between Agra and
atepore are twelve miles and all the way is a market
f victualls and other things as full as though a man
ere still in a towne." "Hither," we are further told
is a great resort of merchants from Persia and other
f India, and very much merchandise of silke and
othe and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants
nd Pearles."

John Newberry departed from Agra for home
ourneying through Persia; William Leedes took
ervice as jeweller with the Emperor Akbar, and
alph Fitch continued his travels, proceeding toward
Bengal, noting the power and influence of the Bráhma

their husbands when they die, if the
 heads be shaven, and never any acco
 them afterward." Travelling from I
 but he found that the road was infe
 of robbers; nevertheless he managed
 in safety, returning to "Hugeli, whi
 where the Portugals keepe in the coun
 and thence sailing for home he arri
 where the king was very powerful, "a
 thousand thousand men, and often
 Columbo, which is the place where the
 their fort, with an hundred thousand
 elephants. But they be naked peop
 yet many of them be good with their
 muskets."

Pitch reached home in 1591, after
 eight years from his native country
 meantime, more certain and accurate
 the route to India and the Portuguese
 been gained.

In the year 1587 a large Portuguese
 the *San Phillippe* had been captured
 Drake off the Azores on its way from
 and amid great rejoicing towed into P
 its papers were examined and its ca

trade and settlements of the Portuguese in the Eastern seas.

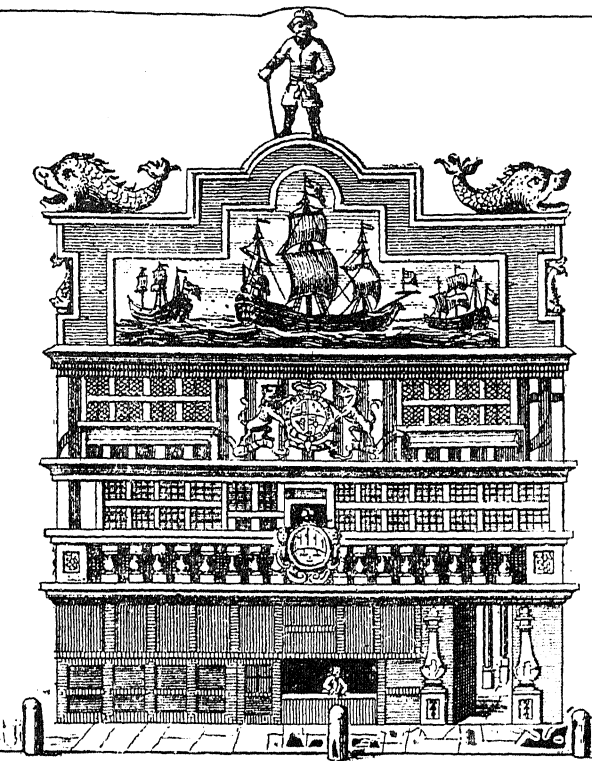
In 1591 three ships, the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonadventure*, sailed under command of George Raymond and James Lancaster, on the first voyage to India from England. By the time they reached the Cape of Good Hope scurvy had so weakened the sailors, and the tempestuous seas and storms so damaged the ships, that the *Merchant Royal* had to be sent home with fifty of the crews. Six days after, on "the 14th of September" they were encountered," witnesses James Lancaster in his account as recorded by Hakluyt, "with a mighty storme and extreeme gusts of winde, wherein we lost our general's companie, and could never heare of him nor his ship any more." So Lancaster had to sail on, the *Bonadventure* alone being left out of the three ships to encounter more sore perils and trials. For "foure dayes after this uncomfortable separation in the morning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men outright, their necks being wrung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was not one untouched, whereof some were stricken blind, others were bruised in the legs and armes and others in the

the Cape, reached the West Indies and where he and nearly all his remaining men were left on a desert island, "but in the ninth of the clocke, our ship did come, with five men and a boy onely in it; our crew cut their own cable, leaving ninetie men without boate or anything, to our great sorrow."

From this position Lancaster and the rest of the ill-fated expedition were rescued by a ship, and arrived at Dieppe on the 22nd, having "spent in this voyage three yeres and two dayes, which the Portugals spent in the time."

In 1596 a second effort was made by Captain Benjamin Wood sailing in the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and *Benjamin*, but his ships were ever heard of again.

Renewed and more vigorous efforts were necessary, for the Dutch, were gradually monopolizing the trade with the East. In 1599, the price of pepper in the English market was 10s. per pound, and the Lord Mayor immediately called together a meeting of the merchants to consider what course should be taken. On the 22nd of September, Sir Stephen Blount, Lord Mayor, sundry aldermen, and



OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.
(From "Gentleman's Magazine," 1784.)

shortly after admonishing them “therein use all expedition and po-
 advance the same, knowing that oth-
 much prejudice yourselves by your
 delays.”

Four ships, the *Malice Scourge*,
Hector, of 300 tons, the *Ascension*,
Susan, of 240, and a small pinnace
 purchased and made ready for sail-
 culty arose. The Lord Treasurer str-
 Edward Michelborne, a Court favour-
 the expedition—a proposal which the
 objected to, giving as their reason the
 not to employ anie gent in any pla-
 comaundent in the said voiage,” their
 “to sort their business with men of th-
 The *Malice Scourge*, rechristened t-
 was placed in charge of James Lanca-
 of 202 men, Captain John Davis, the
 West navigator, being pilot; John
 made commander of the *Hector*,
 William Brand commander of the *A*-
 men; and John Heywood command-
 with 88 men; the *Guest*, a small ve-
 being purchased to accompany

FIRST VOYAGE.

and of the voyage, the Charter being granted for term of fifteen years.

On the 2nd of April, 1601, the four ships started on their memorable voyage, having on board the sum of £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 worth of British wares, such as cutlery, glass, and hides, wherewith they hoped to open up a trade in the Eastern seas. In this laudable enterprise they commenced, after the fashion of the times, by capturing, on the 21st of June, a Portuguese ship bound from Lisbon to the East Indies, and taking from her 146 butts of wine, much oil and other goods, "which was a great help to us in the whole voyage after." By the time the ships reached Saldanha Bay, now known as Table Bay, the crews of three of the ships were so weakened by scurvy, from which disease 105 in all died, that they had not strength left even to let go their anchors. The crew of the *Dragon* alone escaping, as they abstained as much as possible from eating salt meat and drank freely of lemon juice. James Lancaster went ashore to "seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weake men, where hee met with certaine of the countrey people and gave them divers trifles, knives and pieces of old iron and such like, and made them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen

and on the 5th of June anchored off
a treaty of peace was drawn up be
Lancaster and the King, who took
in cock-fighting than in listening to th
Queen Elizabeth to "her loving broth
and mightie King of Achem." Seeing
obtain but small store of goods or pepp
of failure in the previous year's harvests
daily grew full of thought how to lac
to save his owne credit, the merchar
that set him aworke, and the repu
countrey: considering what a foule
be to them all in regard to the nati
seeing there were enough merchandise
in the Indies, yet he should be lik
home with empty ships." Sailing
Straits of Malacca a Portuguese ship
was sighted, on the 3rd of October, a
the journals of the voyage, transcribed
his Pilgrimes," published in 1625, "wit
daies we had unladen her of 950 pack
and Pintados, besides many packets of
she had in her much rice and other goo
made small account." In the simple na
further told that "the Generall was ver

SECOND VOYAGE.

Delighted at their good fortune they sailed on to Bantam, in Java, where "wee traded here very peaceably, although the Javians be reckoned among the greatest Pickers and Thieves in the world."

The ships returned to England in the summer of 1603, the Court Minutes of the Company stating that on the 16th of June of that year the *Ascension* appeared in the river with a cargo of 210,000 lbs. of pepper, 1,100 lbs. of cloves, 6,030 lbs. of cinnamon, and 4,080 lbs. of gum lacquer. The Lord High Admiral demanded one-tenth of the value of the prizes taken at sea, and a further sum of £917 had been paid for Customs dues; nevertheless, the voyage was successful enough to encourage the East India Company to subscribe together a sum of £60,450 for a second expedition which sailed in 1604 in command of Henry Middleton.

Reaching Bantam, two of the four ships which formed the fleet were laden with pepper and the other two sailed on to Amboyna. The Portuguese and Dutch were here found to be engaged in a fierce war. Each was determined to gain the monopoly of the trade in the Moluccas, but both were equally determined to combine against a new competitor. Middleton, finding himself unable either

competitors eager to share in its profits. James I., in direct contravention of the exclusive right of trading with the East, gave a commission to Sir Edward Michelborne, who, as the merchants had refused to place in the first expedition, to sail on a voyage to China, Japan, Corea, and Cathay. He sent the *Tiger*, a ship of 240 tons, and a smaller vessel, the *Tiger's Whelp*, Sir Edward Michelborne, to the East, where he captured and pillaged several vessels. The voyage is memorable for the simple-souled John Davis, the navigator, who accompanied the expedition, treacherously slain by some Japanese. He allowed to come on board his ship, on the belief that they were peaceable traders, and obtained useful information.

Notwithstanding the interference of the private traders or "interlopers" the Company continued to send their ships to the East. In 1602 the first went to Bantam for pepper and to Amboyna for cloves; the latter sold in England for 100 per cent. above original cost being £2,947 15s. The first two ships out on the fourth voyage in 1607 were the *Arcturion* and the *Swallow*, which, less the Company's

PORTUGUESE OPPOSITION.

trading to the East Indies but also the right of holding and alienating land—concessions which inspired so much confidence that the subscription for the sixth voyage reached the sum of £82,000. The sixth voyage is memorable for the fact that the largest merchant ship then in England, the *Trades Increase*, of 1,100 tons, was sent out to the East. The Portuguese made strenuous efforts to prevent the adventurers trading at Surat, whereon the English commander, Sir Henry Middleton, captured one of their ships laden with Indian goods, so that the profits of the voyage amounted to £121 13s. 6d. per cent. The *Trades Increase*, however, struck rock and subsequently capsized—a calamity which affected Sir Henry Middleton that he died of grief. The power and trade of the Portuguese had rapidly waned from 1580, when they were united with Spain under Philip II.; but in the East they still strove to hold their once opulent settlements. In 1612 four Portuguese galleons and twenty-four frigates attacked the English fleet under Captain Knollys at Swally, off Surat, and were driven off with heavy loss. In 1615 they made one final effort to drive from the vicinity of Goa and Surat the English whom they describe in a letter to the King as “thieves

the *Merchant's Hope*, which was boarded in an obstinate fight they were driven off. Of some five hundred men, the three ships were allowed to drift ashore, the rest of the fleet during the night after a severe cannonade.

For many reasons it was impossible that they could ever have established a permanent colony in India. The union with Spain, the increase of the population, the deterioration of the morals and habits of pampered luxury and indolence, the native women, added to their heavy taxation, facts lying on the surface. Recent discoveries have brought to light graver reasons why the Portuguese themselves were nothing loth to be expelled from the contamination of a so-called civilisation by foreigners who had lived amongst them so long and wealthy for a period of over one hundred years. Portuguese historians tell how the tyrannical Portuguese Viceroy, Don Francisco de Almeida, was, for many years after his death, regarded by the Muhammadans and Hindus, who might rise up and defend them from the cruelties, and greed of his successors, as the cause of their tortures and the burnings at the stake of the witches, sorcerers, and Christians suspected of witchcraft. Native and European alike, not only

PORTUGUESE LOSSES.

conversions to Christianity serving as a transparent veil to covetousness: these are the fearful pictures from which we would desire to turn away our eyes. It was, therefore, to this moral leprosy, to these eternal cankers, that Gaspar Correa chiefly alluded to which Diogo do Conto attributed the loss of India, saying that it had been won with much truthfulness, valour, and perseverance, and that it was lost through the absence of those virtues." ¹

From their settlements and fortresses in the East Indies the Portuguese were rapidly driven out by the English and Dutch. In 1622 Ormuz, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, was captured by the English fleet assisted by a Persian army under Sháh Abbas, the Portuguese population of over two thousand souls being transported to Muscat. The prize-money due to the Company from this conquest was estimated at 100,000 and 240,000 rials of eight, of which James claimed £10,000, his share as King, and the Duke of Buckingham £10,000, his share as Lord High Admiral, the Company not being permitted to send any ships from England until they consented to pay these amounts.

A few years later, in 1629, the Emperor Sháh Jahan captured the Portuguese settlement at Húg

trade in the Spice Islands, Java, Ceylon, and the East Indian mainland, leaving Portugal by the mid-seventeenth century stripped of her wealth and of her commerce.

As the trade in the East gradually fell into the hands of the effete and degenerate descendants of the early Portuguese adventurers the struggle for supremacy between the Dutch and English, each desiring to monopolize this source of wealth, the true value of which was yearly becoming more apparent. In the first voyage made by the Company up to 1612, the dividends on each share held by the Londoners had been 171 per cent. From 1613 to 1616 no dividends were made, the subscriptions being for a long-term investment for the joint benefit of all. Owing to the opposition shown by the Dutch to the English trade in the Spice Islands the dividends on each of these four voyages fell to one-third share of £100. In spite of this the subscription increased to £1,600,000, subsequent to the first three voyages on a second joint stock voyage.

In 1621 the subject of the Eastern trade caused much controversy in England that led to the issuance of his celebrated tract as a counterweight to the growing contention that "it were a h

THOMAS NUN'S TRACT.

and so advance their fortunes." He then asserts that the new trade with the East "is a means to bring more treasure into the Realme than all the other trades of the Kingdome (as they are now managed) being put together."

Respecting the ships which had been employed in the Eastern seas he gave the following succinct information: "Since the beginning of the trade until the month of July last, anno 1620, there have been sent either 79 ships in several voyages, whereof 34 are ready to come home in safetie richly laden, foure have been worne out by long service from port to port in the Indies, two were overwhelmed in the trimming thereof, six have been cast away by the perils of the sea, twelve have been taken and surprized by the Dutch, whereof divers will be wasted and little worth before they be restored, and 21 good ships doe still remaine in the Indies."

The profit made by the voyages is summed up as follows: "First there hath been lost £31,079 in ten shippes which are cast away, and in the shippes which are returned in safety there have been brought home £356,288 in divers sorts of wares which hath produced here in England towards the general stock thereof £1,914,000. . . . So there ought to be

in the East yearly became more until finally, in 1623, the Massacre of Amboyna sowed the seeds of that bitter animosity between the two nations, leading to the conflicts for the supremacy of the sea.

At Amboyna, in the Moluccas, Captain Jacob van Heemskerck and his English factors, eighteen in all, were confined in a house in the town, the Dutch hold of Amboyna garrisoned by two hundred of their soldiers. Captain Towerson and his assistants were charged with a charge of conspiring to surprise the Dutch and hold. It was in vain that the prisoners pleaded their innocence; the torture of the rack, a barbarous custom of the day, was used, and the prisoners were forced, in their agony, to admit the charge of conspiracy. Captain Towerson, nine of the English, nine natives of Japan, and one Portuguese, were headed, praying forgiveness from each other, and in their torment confessed to the charge. The indignation excited in England at the news of this outrage was carefully noted by the Directors of the East India Company. They distributed a picture depicting, in a most extravagant manner, the torture of the English factors, coupled with the

GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

amount of £300,000, shares of £100 falling down to £30, although previously shares of £60 had been sold "by the candle" for as much as £130.

To add to the depression permission was given, in 1635, to a rival Company under Sir William Courteen, to trade with the East. In 1640 the King, as usual in a pious want of money, forced the old Company to sell him on credit all the pepper they had in store for the sum of £63,283 11s. 1d., which the King immediately sold for £50,626 17s. 1d., ready cash; it does not appear that the Company ever received any compensation, beyond some £13,000 owing for Customs duties.

The Company, driven by the Dutch from the Eastern Archipelago gradually commenced to establish factories and settlements along the coast of India. In 1632 a factory was reopened at Masulipatam under an order known as the "Golden Firman," obtained from the Muhammadan King of Golconda. The settlement soon became the chief place of trade in India, its affairs being regulated by a Council. The chief of the Council, Mr. Francis Day, made a visit to the Portuguese settlement at St. Thomé, the supposed place of martyrdom of St. Thomas the Apostle, and founded there in 1640 a new factory and centre

Sháh Jahán, at Mr. Boughton's request, obtained Company permission to establish a factory at Surat to make a settlement lower down the coast where a fort was built which soon became the best position held by the Company on the west coast.

Bombay, given by the Portuguese to the King on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, of her dower, was leased by the King to the Company on a rent of £10 per annum, which from 1685 grew to be the chief port on the west coast.

While the London merchants were busy with their trading centres of trade abroad, efforts were made by the home Government to undermine the maritime enterprise of the Dutch who, in 1622—1624, founded New Amsterdam, now New York, in 1650 commenced the colonisation of the Cape of Good Hope. By the Navigation Act, 1651, Cromwell not only prepared the way for the extension of English shipping and trade, but also struck a decisive blow at the prosperity of the then the carriers of the world's sea-borne trade. By this Act no goods from the East, from America, were allowed to be imported into Britain unless carried in ships belonging to the country of origin.

DUTCH AND FRENCH.

take off Dover in 1652—a defeat retrieved by the end of the year when Tromp won a decisive victory afterwards sailing down the Channel with a brood of flags at his masthead to show that he had swept the English from the seas. In March, 1653, Blake and Monk defeated Tromp and De Ruyter in the three days' fight off Beachy Head. In August Tromp was killed in the engagement off the Texel peace being afterwards concluded between the rival powers, neither able to gain much advantage by continuing the conflict.

France was now commencing her struggle for participation in the commerce of the world. As early as 1604 French companies had been formed and ships sent out to the East, but no serious effort had been made to interfere with the Dutch and English. It was not until the year 1664 that Colbert, successor to the celebrated Minister Mazarin, succeeded in arousing the interest of Louis XIV. in a scheme for enriching France by a fostering of her resources and development of her commerce. The exclusive right of trading to the East was granted to a powerful Company, formed with a capital of sixteen million francs, while as a basis for naval operations in the narrow seas, Louis XIV., in 1668,

at Amsterdam to Antwerp, whence it drifted after its sack in 1576 by the Spaniards. The whole history of the next fifty years was determined by this policy of Louis XIV., which by monopolising the trade to the East and the supremacy in the undisputed possession of England.

At first France met with a short but successful success, typical of all her subsequent enterprises in an Eastern Empire. Colbert fixed on François Caron, formerly cook and chief of a Dutch man-of-war, who by his erratic career had risen to be Member of Council of the Government at Batavia, to inaugurate the new system. He despatched him to India, in 1667, as Director of French commerce. Caron succeeded in obtaining factories at Surat and Masulipatam, and was himself the order of St. Michel from Louis XIV. as a reward for the rich cargoes he sent home. Emboldened by his success he seized the Government at Trinkamali in Ceylon, and took it from the Portuguese, only to find his career cut short by his recall on the orders of Colbert that the Dutch had recaptured the place and ignominiously driven the French out. Caron, on his way home, heard that

WAR WITH HOLLAND.

Europe that the real struggle took place. Western nations for maritime supremacy command over the destinies of India established.

In England the policy of weakening the prosperity of the Dutch continued incessant fixedness of purpose which seemed inevitable towards its result, success. Charles II. continued the commercial policy of Cromwell, enacting the Navigation Act, which ruled the importation of goods into England down to 1849, that no goods of Russia should be carried into England by British ships, while a long list of schemes were absolutely forbidden, under any circumstances be imported from Germany, Holland, or the East Indies.

The commercial rivalries soon led to open hostilities, culminating, early in 1665, in a declaration of war between England and Holland. The Dutch fleet beat the Dutch off Lowestoft, only to suffer a disastrous reverse in the famous four days' battle of Dover—a reverse retrieved by the Dutch fleet off the North Forelands and the burning of Dutch ships in their harbours. Content with this success Charles II. neglected his navy, allowing it to fall into a state of decay. The Dutch

Peace was restored by the Treaty of Br. England gaining New York and New Dutch once more consenting to salute flag on the high seas.

Holland too was glad to be at peace. her maritime power threatened but her v as a nation was at stake. Louis XIV rejected the statesmanlike policy of Colb pressed on him by Leibnitz who, with insight, pointed out how the trade from would be held by the nation wise enough to command the immediate and ancient route the Persian Gulf and Red Sea—a route is obliged to hold to-day in order to secure own commercial supremacy. "The Egypt," wrote Leibnitz, "opens the quests worthy of Alexander; the extreme of the Orientals is no longer a secret. Egypt will have all the coasts and is Indian Ocean. It is in Egypt that Holland conquered; it is there she will be despot alone renders her prosperous, the Trade East."

Louis XIV. thought otherwise. He territorial expansion of his dominions in

y that they could successfully resist the allied
ets, while on land William of Orange, afterwards
William III. of England, accepted as Stadholder of
e murder of the De Witt brothers at the Hague
1672, successfully held Amsterdam by cutting the
kes and inundating South Holland. Louis had
ire baffled. In the next year Charles II., after the
lliant though indecisive attack made off the Tex
the Dutch fleet under Prince Rupert, was forced
make peace and withdraw his alliance from the
ench.

Holland, in her efforts to preserve her independence
d been obliged to neglect her Eastern possessions
d turn her attention from the increase of her navy
d shipping to the strengthening of her army and
nd defences, while at the same time she was gradu
y becoming more and more involved in debt.

By the Treaty of Augsburg, in 1686, Holland had
join Sweden and Savoy in again opposing the over
eening ambition of Louis XIV.—an alliance joined
England in 1689, the year after William of Orange
ad landed at Torbay, driven out James II. and
accepted the throne in hopes of seeing his lifelong
mbition crowned by the crushing of his great rival
e French monarch. At Beachy Head Admiral

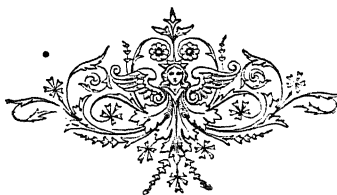
the French settlement at Pondicherry on the coast of India which had been captured by the English.

Although England was thus gradually losing all fear of Holland as a commercial rival in the East, France still struggled for mastery in Europe. Louis XIV., aiming at universal dominion, sought to avenge on the death of Charles II., the Spanish king whose sister he had married, to unite in one person the thrones of France and Spain. He pressed his pretensions Holland, Austria, and England refused to be combined. The French fleet was defeated in 1704, Gibraltar was taken by Rooke; the battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet followed, leaving Louis humbled and his power reduced. In 1713 he was obliged to sign the Peace of Utrecht, by which the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed to the ground, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland ceded to the English, and Holland, now no longer a naval power, was left in safe possession of her Spanish possessions in the East Indies.

England remained the supreme maritime power, and pursued her career and gain, without challenge to the monopoly of the commerce of the East. The French navy was crippled; the subsequent efforts made by France to recover her position are merely interesting as historical facts.

to the invasion of a foreign power whose
and strength were secured on the seas.

In 1693 the Old English Company 1
Charter, notwithstanding the fact that
pended £90,000 in efforts to bribe the Pr
for a new Company, known as the London
had lent the Government two millions ster
cent., and in return had been granted th
right of trading to the East. In 1702
mise was effected by the exertions of
the two Companies being amalgamated
title of the United Company of Merch
to the East Indies—a Company better kn
Honourable East India Company," under
the British Empire was established in
maintained down to the Mutiny when
assumed direct control.





III.

INDIA ON THE EVE OF CONQUEST

IN India the reign of Aurangzib the Great had come to a close in 1707, the dying monarch in his last hours pouring forth his lamentations of ruin overshadowing the empire founded by his fathers. "I have not done well by the people," he cried, in despair, "the empire is ruined, and without heart or help even to recover it."

Into India the Mughal Emperors had brought many foreigners. Two hundred years before the reign of Aurangzib, at the time when Dom Vasco da Gama, the first Portuguese Viceroy, reached India with twenty-two ships and 1,500 soldiers, the Lion, the Chagatai Tartar, sixth in descent from

EARLY INVASIONS.

them to their will. In India history repeats itself with monotonous sameness. In its enervating plain, removed from the invigorating sea-breeze and the bracing cold of the mountain ranges, the keen eye, daunted heart, and relentless arm of the successful hardy northern immigrants slowly but surely tend to change to the placid look, folded hands and brooding mind of the Eastern Sage, who, content to dream his dream of life, wearily turns from the conflict and the struggle for existence, time after time introduced by the more warlike northern conquerors ever coming and going like the monsoon storms.

Who the first inhabitants of India were we know not. In primeval days, wild, savage people inhabited the land, wandering to and fro along the riverside in search of food. The only records they have left of their existence are the chipped flint or quartz arrow-heads, scrapers, and axes, dug up to-day in the alluvial deposits of the great river valleys. As the centuries passed these aboriginal inhabitants became more civilised. They learned to smooth and polish the stone implements, perforating them with holes so as to attach them to handles. As time went on they made gold and silver ornaments, and manufactured earthen pots, which are still discovered

their primitive simplicity, superstition, and habits. During the taking of the Census of India, it was ascertained that one-twelfth of the population of India, nearly twenty millions of people, consisted of these living fossils of prehistoric times. There they remain, a strange study to the ethnologist and anthropologist: worshippers of spirits and demons; worshippers of snakes, trees, and streams, and a superstition that inspires with terror, but little affected by the efforts of the British rulers to inculcate the most primitive elements of civilisation, except in so far as their gross crimes of human sacrifice, infanticide, and intertribal bloodshed have been sternly suppressed.

Respecting the earliest invasions of India, no reliable history exists but the vaguest and most unreliable traditions.

The whole south of India is at present inhabited by a people speaking cognate languages which have been grouped together and called Dravidian. As much as these languages show strong affinities with northern languages such as the Biluchian, the Finnish, and that used in the inscriptions of Media, it has been conjectured that the people of the south entered India from the west, and were gradually driven to the south by the

maker evidence, to have entered India from the north-east and, checked in its conquering career by the Dravidians, to have been driven back to its present home in the north and north-east of the Deccan. Again, along the lower slopes of the Himalayas we find a people giving clear evidences of their descent from some early Chinese or Mongolian immigrants. The first invading race whose history we can trace with something approaching to accuracy was the Aryan, who entered India probably about the time of Abraham, some two thousand years before the Christian era.

The language of these invaders was the ancient Sanskrit, from which, through two early vernaculars, the Sauraseni and Magadhi, all the modern languages of North India are descended. It belongs to the same family as the Greek, Slavo-Lettic, Teutonic, Celtic, and Latin of the West. From this fact it has been contended that all these languages must have sprung from some original common parent language spoken by an united Aryan people once living together in some common home. So far the evidence seems unassailable; still the question as to where was the Early Home of the Aryans remains unanswered. Professor Max Müller holds that it was somewhere

they invaded India as foreigners, possessed of rude vigour and determination to struggle for life characteristic of dwellers in northern climes. They found India inhabited by the descendants of the aboriginal races and on whom they looked down with haughty scorn. In their Vedic hymns, which they sang to their gods, the Beings, the Devas, or Bright Ones, they recorded their wars, their victories, hopes and aspirations. To their god Indra, the Indians sang their song of praise, for he it was who was the enemy of his black skin, he kills him and turns him to ashes."

Wearing armour and helmets, with chariots, armed with bows and arrows, battle-axes, drinking their intoxicating wine and eating the flesh of buffaloes, bulls and horses, they drove before them their enemies whom they regarded as scarcely human, black, no-nosed, grinning and eaters of raw flesh. They gradually advanced into the land of the Five Rivers—the Indus, the Chenáb, Rávi, and Sutlej, advancing in the sixth century B.C. as far as the upper reaches of the Godavari and Jumna. In the holy land of Brah-

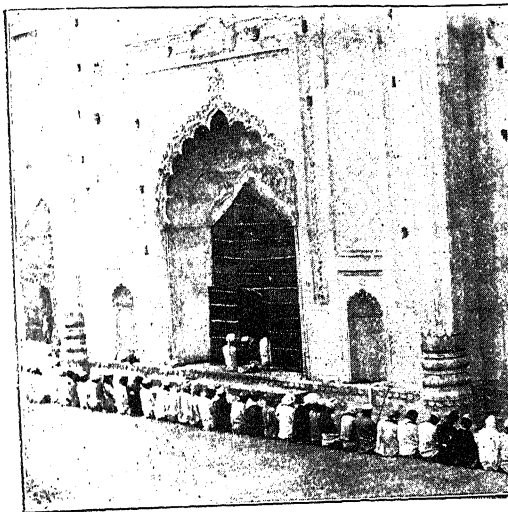
shall all men on earth be instructed in his character." To-day in every Hindu the cultured Bráhmaṇ will be found, his learning to be honoured, the law he inculcates respected, his deep mystery of creation, the soul revered and studied. From the reciters of the Vedic hymns, the family priests or Bráhmaṇs, of offerings to their deities, were among men, the very mouthpieces by a special creation from the Creator. Kings and warriors were but servants of the Creator to conquer the universe to the will of the priestly law. The aboriginal races were all sprung from the Creator for servile labour. Gradually the people according to colour and religion extended itself until it became rigidly separated from the law and customs stereotyped for centuries. Ordinances enunciated, and before they were revealed to the Bráhmaṇ time. Even death itself could not erase caste distinctions between races.

animal, or in case its transgression was that of a creeping or crawling insect, or as a bird, to roam without rest.

The Aryans in their ancestral land, beheld the expanse of the heavens, the Dawn, the Sun, the God of the good God the Giver of Fire to Man, and as they found new homes in the East they, for the first time, realised the exceeding might and majesty of Nature in all her varied manifestations. Slowly came the growth of a belief that man was not a mere Soul, an immortal undying principle, but that he grew the knowledge that behind all the changes of Nature lay the unchanging, omniscient principle, the eternal essence, manifesting itself in different places, in different forms. Unfortunately the rude superstitions and primitive beliefs of the aboriginal tribes and despised servile classes were tolerated by the civilised conquerors to a certain extent by a large portion of the civilised conquerors. The influence of Buddha, from the sixth century B.C. onwards, made but small impression on the great mass of the people, for not only did he and his followers remain outside the general community, seeking out

THE MUHAMMADANS.

madan invasions commenced to sweep India. These new invaders, vowed by ti root out idolatry in the lands which the and to subdue disbelievers in the One T Muhammad as the Prophet of that G desolated the land, but broke in pieces idols, razed to the ground the magnific



MUHAMMADANS PRAYING.

...and slow in their fan

if he would spare the sacred idol of Somnáth. He scornfully replied breaker and not a seller of idols, image asunder, was astonished to his feet a vast store of jewels which cealed there by the priests. From carried back to Afghánistán the which Lord Ellenborough fondly, th imagined he recovered and restored after the Afghánistán War in 1842.

The first Muhammadan Emperor established his sway in India was Túrki slave. He raised himself to p and his own historian records that realm was filled with friends and cle bounty was continuous and so w More terrible were the woes and people under the Emperor Muha who ruled from the year 1325 fiendish cruelty, akin to the anima eating tiger, his fierce nature could by deeds of inhuman wickedness. tracts of country he drove the inoffe towards the centre so that he and h rades might revel in man hunts, sl

nds of Tartary, and swept down through the northernmost passes of Afghánistán across the Punjáb towards Delhi. The imperial city surrendered under a promise of safety, only to be given up to the flames and pillaged by the fierce horsemen who slew the inhabitants so that the streets were rendered impassable for the space of six days. Tamerlane and his savage soldiery retreated laden with the hoarded-up wealth of centuries, leaving naught behind them but the ruins and ashes of burned cities and the wailing of the desolate inhabitants.

After his departure India was for a time left in peace. Muhammadan Emperors were enthroned at Delhi while local chieftains held independent sway in the more distant provinces.

At length, in 1526, Bábar the Lion marched down at the head of his hardy northern horsemen from the Afghánistán side of the mountains and established the rule of the Mughals.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the fact that the Mughals, as well as their successors, were foreigners in the land of India than the words in which Bábar records his first impressions on seeing the sun-burnt plains of India. "I had never before seen countries of so warm temperature," he wrote, "nor the country

Again he writes in the same Memoir that the Hindoos has but little to recommend it. They are not good-looking, they have no ideas of society, they have no genius or good sense, neither polish of manner, amiability of feeling, neither ingenuity or mechanical skill, nor knowledge or skill in architecture. They have decent houses, good fruit, ice or cold water, neither baths nor colleges, neither carriages nor sticks ; if you want to read or write, you must have a filthy, half-naked fellow to read to you all the time with a glaring torch.

Under the early Mughal Emperors the whole of India north of the Vindhya range was united into one great empire, its cities were adorned with stately palaces, tombs, temples, and mosques. From the Mausoleum of Humáyún, with its Persian dome and glazed tiles, on to the great fort and fort at Agra, his fairy building, the mosque at Fatehpur Sírí, his own stately and graceful ever designed and built by the monarch of the East, down to the great Taj Mahál, the fort, palace, and mosque at Delhi, and many others, the various taste of Sháh Jahán revelled in.

English merchants. Jahángír succeeded his father Akbar to an empire extending over Kandahár and Kashmir in the north, over Málwá, Gújarát, and in the west, to Orissa and Bengal in the east. Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from King James to the Court of Jahángír, gives in his well-known letters a full and fairly accurate account of the country and social life at this period. On all sides the English ambassador discerned signs of coming changes. "Beware," he wrote to the Company— "Beware of scattering your goods in divers parts and engaging your stock and servants farre into the country, for the time will come when all in these kingdoms will be in combustion, and a few yeares warre will not decide the inveterate malice laid on all parts against a day of vengeance."

At his first interview the ambassador presented Jahángír with some presents, and unfortunately, so, with a case of wine, whereon Jahángír immediately got so drunk that business had to be suspended.



AKBAR.

(From Holden's "Mogul Emperors.")

reign in Court circles on the subject, once being reminded by an incautious of a previous night's saturnalia, expressions of astonishment and made diligent inquiry of those who were present, "fined some of some three thousand rupies, some less. Those who were neerer his person he caused to be flogged, receiving one hundred and thirty lashes, the most terrible instrument, having at each end a cord, irons like Spurrowels, so that they made foure wounds. When they lay on the ground, he commanded the standers to tread on them, and after, the Porters to breake the bones of them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bleeding, were carried out, of which one dyed in the night.

Although Sir Thomas Roe was, by nature, a Englishman, entirely out of sympathy with the surroundings and the modes of thought of the natives with whom he came in contact, still his observations are of historical value, as being those of a man of shrewd, common sense, whose impartiality led him into excesses of extravagant and vulgar abuse. His remarks may therefore be taken as giving an accurate though somewhat exaggerated description of the outward conditions

SIR THOMAS ROE.

houses are of stone, both in good forme and faire, as great men build not, for want of inheritance, farre as I have yet seene live in Tents, or house worse then a cottager ; yet where the King affects Agra, because it is a city erected by him, buildings are (as is reported) faire and of carved stone." Marching with the Emperor's retinue to Godah, which is described as a land fruitful in cotton and cattle, he incidentally mentions that in the fields by the roadside he saw the bodies of hundred naked men who had been slain for a crime very common—highway robbery. Further on he passed an embassy carrying as a gift to the Emperor the heads of three hundred rebels who had been put to death in Kandahár. Godah he describes as the best town he had seen in India, "for that there were some houses two stories high, and such a peddler might not scorne to keepe shop in, all covered with tyle."

Sir Thomas Roe, having wasted much time in fruitless endeavours to induce the Emperor to sign a treaty granting trading privileges to the Company in perpetuity, wrote home that in his opinion it was not advisable to seek to acquire land in India, or even to erect forts along the sea coast, "by my consi-

Finally the ambassador beseeches that he should a gentleman of his rank be sent on embassy to the Mughal Court: "A gentleman would among these proud Moors better than a merchant in business. My quality often for ceremony begets you enemies or suffers unworthily to be moderated according to my discretion and my swoln heart."

It was not long before Sir Thomas Roe's forebodings as to the future perils and troubles that lay in store for the empire proved true. In 1658, the Emperor Sháh Jahán, who had succeeded his father Jahángír in 1627, was reported to be so ill that his four sons broke into open rebellion, and the sword alone should determine the succession. The city of Agra was panic-stricken, its inhabitants closed their shops and waited in fear and trembling. At length Aurangzeb, the youngest son of the sick Emperor, who had diligently cultivated the reputation of being a devout and pious Puritan, ascetic, and saintly in all his habits, put his brothers, two of whom, Dará and Muráz, he put to death, the third, Shujá, to flight, of whom he never heard of more. Sháh Jahán was confined to his captivity, where for six long years he



THE MARÁTHÁS.

him still remained unaccomplished the task of uniting the empire the two more southern kingdoms, Golconda and Bījapur, then held by representatives of the Kutab Sháhí and Adil Sháhí dynasties. For twenty years he wasted his resources in endeavouring to conquer these kingdoms, and when at length he was obliged to remain at the head of his troops for twenty years longer endeavouring to keep order in his unwieldy dominions, and drive back his ever-increasing foes.

With the Rájput princes of Rájputána, whom he had alienated from the throne by his religious intolerance, he was obliged to make treaties of peace; with the Sikhs in the Punjáb, whom his persecutions had changed from a religious sect into a nation of fiercer soldiers, sworn to die fighting in defence of the faith, he waged a war of extermination, torturing and slaying their captive leaders with fiendish cruelties; while the Maráthás, who under Sivají had risen to power in the Deccan, harassed his armies, cut off his supplies, and forced him to yield them chaudhry or one-fourth of the revenue which they claimed as their right to levy by force of arms from all the kingdoms of the south. In 1664 Sivají, at the head of his horsemen pillaged and burned Surat as far as to

power of the Emperor to preserve peace over his extended dominions was passive that it needed but a firm hand to wrest from out the feeble hold of the effete de Bábbar. The keynote to the situation is in the remark of Bernier: "The Great foreigner in Hindustán, a descendant of the chief of those Mogols from Tartary who in the year 1401, overran and conquered the India, subsequently he finds himself in a hostile country containing hundreds of Gentiles to one Mahometan to one Mahometan."

As a matter of fact it was ascertained by the Census of 1891 that while the population of India amounts to 287,223,431, but 57,321,164 were as Muhammadan, of whom it would be difficult to say how many are merely converted. It must be remembered, too, that the inevitable decay of India, with its enervating climate, is that it can never be long held or firmly governed which does not periodically renew its strength and manhood by fresh recruits drawn from the temperate climes.

Thus Bernier wrote: "It should be remembered, however, that children of the third and fourth

ing this period, "the Company have sent English women, but they beget a sickly generation as the Dutch well observe those thrive best the one of an European father and Indian mother."

The whole history of the period is summed up by W. Wilson Hunter as follows: "The ancestors of Aurangzib, who swooped down on India from the north, were ruddy men in boots; the courtiers among whom Aurangzib grew up were pale persons in petticoats. Bábar, the founder of the empire, had swum every river which he met with during thirty years campaigning: the luxurious nobles round the youthful Aurangzib wore skirts made of innumerable yards of finest white muslins, and went to war on horseback." "The languishing of the people."

That the people themselves could suffer but little from a change of their effete rulers may be seen from the description given by Bernier and other travellers of India of the general insecurity of life and property. No adequate description can be conveyed," writes Bernier, "of the sufferings of the people. The cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others; and, driven to despair by even the most trifling and of cruel treatment, their revolt or their flight is only prevented by the presence of a military force." "The ground is seldom tillable."

made up of earth, mud, and other wretches that there is no city or town which, if it is ruined and deserted, does not bear evidence of approaching decay."

Another French traveller, Tavernier, in his voyages to India from 1640 to 1667 says, "I see in India whole provinces like deserts; the peasants have fled on account of the cruelties of the Governors. Under cover of the name of religion are themselves Muhammadans they oppress these poor idolaters to the utmost, and when the latter become Muhammadans it is in vain to work any more; they become soldiers who are people who make a profession of having renounced the world and live upon the spoils of reality they are all great rascals."

Dr. Fryer in his letters gives even a more full account of the people, who he says are "all slaves to their Masters and Prince, who he says is the India is sole Proprietor of lands; all the inhabitants are no more than a bare subsistence, that when a bad year fills not the Public Treasury, the drubbing the poor Hindus till their blood and their skins, they being forced often to sell their children for rice."

nier of the essential weakness of Oriental troops
 soon to be pitted against armies disciplined and
 led together by English officers. This weakness
 was not only the very basis of the policy of Duple
 and Clive, it not only rendered the conquests of
 the English inevitable and certain so long as they
 could pursue their course free from European rival
 but further it is the basis, at least the mater
 basis, on which the stability of the British rule in
 India is to-day firmly established free from all fe
 internal attack. "I could never see," wrote
 ernier, "these soldiers destitute of order and
 marching with the irregularity of a herd of anima
 without reflecting upon the ease with which 25,000
 of our veterans from the army of Flanders, could
 overcome these armies, however numerous."
 These immense armies," he continues, "frequent
 perform great feats, but when thrown into confus
 it is impossible to restore them to discipline."
 In short, the time had come when some fore
 power was destined to stand forth and fulfil
 dream of Akbar as fashioned by the late P
 laureate :

" I watch'd my son

And those that follow'd, loosen stone from stone



IV.

FRENCH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH INDIA.

FOR long the Dutch, French, and English Companies had been content to rest their commerce ; their interests not travelling beyond the limits of their settlements along the coast. Their servants were merchants engaged for a long time but a poor salary. The English factory such as Surat received £500 a year and the merchants £40 a year after they had been five years as writers on a yearly salary of £200 then for three years as factors on £200.

These merchants were for the most part employed by the Mughal Emperors, though they were harassed by the native governors w

extended itself five miles along the coast and on the inland. North and south of Madras from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, the land was known as the Karnátik ruled by a native Governor or Nawáb subordinate to a Viceroy or Nizam of the south, with his office direct from the Emperor at Delhi. Madras, Bangalore and Trichinopoli were under the charge of their native Rájás, or Chieftains, who were accountable to the Nawáb.

In 1672 when the last native ruler of B́ijapur, Sháhán Lodi, found himself in want of money, he borrowed it from the French, and, according to Oriental custom, gave them in return the right to collect the revenues arising from the district around Pondicherry. Here Francis Martin fortified his position, making a secure base against the raids of wandering Maráthás who in 1677 swept past Madras and pillaged the intervening villages.

In 1740 these Maráthás to the number of ten thousand came swarming down on the south and defeated the Nawáb of the Karnátik. Safdar Alí, the successor, deemed it wise in the disturbed state of affairs to send his mother and family to the French for the keeping of the French at Pondicherry—a precaution also adopted by Chanda Sáhib, Rájá of Trichinopoli.

who had been assassinated, nominated Anwar-ud-Dín, a soldier of fortune, to the command of the ship of the Karnátik.

When England became involved with France, on the death of Charles V. respecting the succession of Maria Theresa, English ships appeared in 1745 off the coast of India then held by its new Governor, Joseph Dupleix. Anwar-ud-Dín, remembering the aid rendered by the French to the former rulers of the Karnátik, and to Chanda Sáhib, threatened to deliver their families from the Maráthás, at the same time offering the rescue and threatened vengeance of the English unless their ships departed from the coast of the factory of his friends and allies. The English ships sailed away, and on returning the next year learned that the French Admiral La Bourdonnais had sailed from Madagascar with a fleet of nine ships, and on board 3,342 men, including 720 blacks. The English ships, at long range, lasting from four in the afternoon to seven in the evening, the English admiral considered it advisable to retire to Ceylon, leaving the French to sail for Madras, then held by some French ships and men, including two hundred so-called Frenchmen, the chief of Madras Governor Morse applying to the English for aid.

CAPTURE OF MADRAS.

plished. On September 18th the French and ships opened fire, and Fort St. rendered on the 21st after having lost five

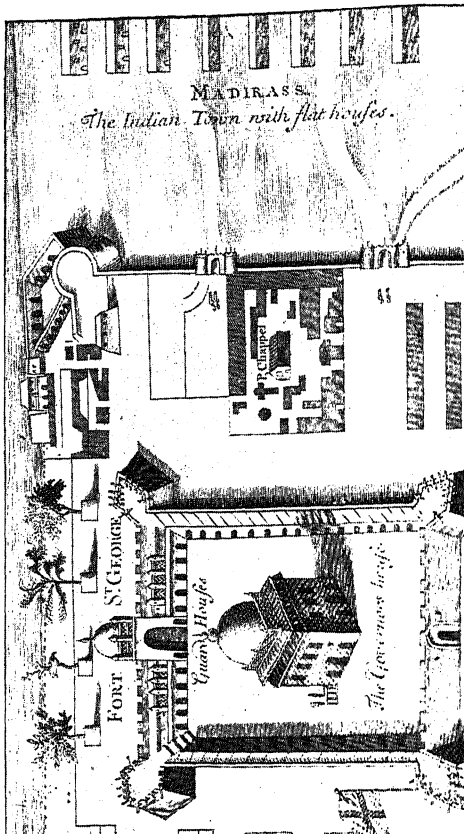
Dupleix had promised the Governor of to hand over to him Madras when taken. Finally the French Admiral La Bourdonnais agreed to restore Madras to the English for £421,666, payable in Europe in six years, as it was afterwards alleged, for a period of £40,000—a false charge of which he was acquitted by his own Government.

The quarrel between the French and the French general waged fierce and long, he striving with all the tenacity, skill, and art which he was so perfect a master, to prevent Bourdonnais and prevent Madras being restored to the English. In the midst of their annual monsoon storm burst, on the night of the 13th, and of the admiral's eight ships for two were virtually destroyed, and two were rendered unseaworthy, while over twelve hundred men perished in the seas.

The plans of La Bourdonnais were hurriedly hastened home to add his name to the list of those whose fame and life have been sac-

MADRASS.

The Indian Town with flat houses.



few daring spirits escaping to find a refuge in Fort St. David—a weak fortress twelve miles south of Pondicherry—garrisoned by a handful of soldiers, one hundred Europeans, and one hundred sepoy.

The Governor of the Karnátik was, however, determined that the French should not hold Madras. He advanced at the head of six thousand horse and three thousand foot to compel Dupleix to keep his promise, certain that the host he commanded was sufficient to drive all foes out of his territories.

For one hundred years the foreigners had been overlooked by the native rulers. As traders they had come and gone peacefully. If they dared to transgress the will of the Emperor or disobey the dictates of his Viceroy in the south, there were ten thousand native soldiers, foot and horse, for every foreign soldier then in India.

The rude awakening was now to come. Four hundred of the French garrison sallied out with two small field-pieces to meet the charge of the native cavalry. Slowly the French force opened fire, and seventy of the foremost native troopers fell before the rapid fire of the French guns. The Nawáb and his army turned and fled, leaving the French masters of the field without the loss of

thousand with heavy loss. It was proposed by Leibnitz to Louis XIV. ; it was known that it was afterward recognised by De Bussy, who counselled Scindia's invincible Maráthás not to dare face the Company's troops ; it was told by Baron Hügel, who told Ranjít Singh that the Sikhs would inevitably fall back defeated by English battalions.

While the army of the Nawáb halted on the banks of the Adyár river, wondering over the brave but ill-fated Mons. Paradis, who had fallen against it from Pondicherry with two thousand thirty Europeans and seven hundred French, the French were now without guns, yet, rushing down the river, they drove the terror-stricken Maráthas, the pursuit continuing through the forests of St. Thomé. Fresh troops from Madras arrived on the scene and completed the rout. The Nawáb's forces found refuge behind the fort of Arcot, whence they spread the tidings of the newly discovered power of the French.

There was none now to stay the advance of the French supremacy. The English entrapped at St. David were but a few hundred in number, supported by some hastily armed peo-

cherry ; but after an investment, lasting from September 6th to October 17th, during which one thousand and sixty-five men, and the two hundred Europeans and fifty native soon storm burst and the fleet had to leave leaving Pondicherry safe in the hands of the French. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle peace was made, and, to the mortification of Dupleix, Pondicherry was given back to the English in exchange for the Isle of Breton.

In 1748 the Viceroy of the south died, and in his succession to his son Nasír Jang—a succession which was by Muzaffar Jang, a grandson of Nizam. Dupleix again played his game with skill. Throwing in his lot with Muzaffar Jang, who had been joined by the Maráthás and Chanda Saheb, freed from his imprisonment at Sátára, the French army advanced against Anwar-ud-Dín, the ruler of the Karnátik.

At Ambúr Anwar-ud-Dín was shot dead, his head by a stray bullet, his army scattered. Muhammad Alí, escaping to Trichinopoly, sought the protection of the English. Chanda Saheb immediately proclaimed at Arcot as Governor of the Karnátik, and the French were given

hammad Ali. Whichever side, France would now succeed in successfully supporting rival claimants might ultimately hope to control over the whole political affairs of the south. The French quickly followed up their success by capturing, in the night-time, with the loss of only a few men, the fortress of Gingi, a stronghold which was always held to be impregnable—a success which enabled them to induce most of the native rulers to forsake the cause of Nasir Jang, who soon afterwards was shot through the heart by one of his own men. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib were now crowned in a scene of Oriental pomp, respectively as Viceroy of the South, and Governor of the Carnatic. Dupleix receiving in return the title of *Chaudhury* of Seven Hundred Horse and the command of the money current all over the south.

The French were now dictators over the Carnatic, ruling in the name of Chanda Sahib. As the new Viceroy Muzaffar Jang was escorted by Mons. Bussy and three hundred French soldiers to his capital at Aurangabad he was ambushed by some opposing native forces and killed by a javelin in the forehead. The post was once retrieved by Bussy. Salabat Jang

minopoli by nine hundred Frenchmen and the army of Chanda Sàhib. The position seemed hopeless. There was, however, one Englishman, a worthcoming who, by his reckless daring, dogged tenacity, and stubborn perseverance, not only succeeded in thwarting the diplomatic ingenuity by which Dupleix had made the French influence supreme in the native states but in establishing, for the first time, the prestige of the English in India. This man was the ill-fated Robert Clive.





V.

ROBERT CLIVE.

CLIVE was born on the 29th of near Market Drayton in Shropshire reckless as a schoolboy, he early those talents which he afterwards exercised. Legend loves to tell how high steeple of Market Drayton, and the townspeople, seated himself on projecting stone. The story is also he levied blackmail on the shopkeepers to break their windows unless they demands and those of his schoolfellows.

In the year 1744 he landed at Madras in the service of the East India Company. he listened in gloomy silence to the

ad, twice it missed fire; a moment afterwards
end entered the room, and seeing Clive sittin



ROBERT CLIVE.

assured in his own mind that he had been spared for some great purpose, to take some great part in the history of his people—a part he afterwards played with a recklessness which can only be accounted for on the supposition that he believed he bore a charmed life. In Malcolm's "Life of Clive" it is told how, during a duel with an officer whom he had accused of cheating at cards, he missed his antagonist, who thereupon advanced, and holding his pistol to Clive's head threatened to fire unless an apology was at once made. "Fire and be d——d," said Clive; "I know you cheated, and I say so still."

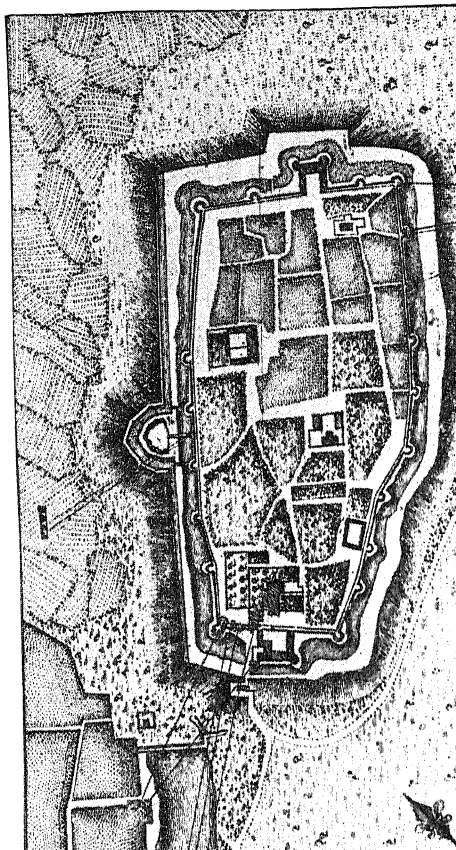
During the siege of Pondicherry, having obtained a temporary commission as ensign, he greatly distinguished himself, but on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he had to return to the uncongenial employment of measuring cloth and checking office accounts. A welcome relief soon came. The native ruler of Tanjore, Rájá Sáhuji, being deposed, appealed to the English to reinstate him. As a reward for this service he offered to bear all the expenses of the war and, on reinstatement to surrender to the Company the fort and lands around Devikota. The English failed in their efforts to restore Sáhuji; still, they determined to have their promised reward. Major Lawrence,

TRICHINOPOLI.

troops; the sepoy's held back, and of the Europeans twenty-six were cut to pieces by the enemy's horsemen. Clive, however, escaped, having, in the words of Lawrence, behaved with "a cool courage and presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger. Born a soldier, for without a military education of any sort or much conversing with any profession, from his judgment and good sense, led an army like an experienced officer and braver soldier."

The fort was afterwards taken and with the surrounding lands, which brought in a revenue of 36,000 rupees, given over to the Company.

Clive was next directed to proceed from Madras with one hundred English and fifty sepoy's, to relieve the force at Trichinopoli where Muhammad Ali, was hemmed in by the French and the army of the Nizam. For this duty Clive was nominated by the Governor, Mr. Saunders, the order in Council stating, "We will give him (Mr. Robert Clive) a brevet to entitle him to the rank of Captain, as he was an officer at the siege of Pondicherry and almost the whole time of the war distinguished himself on many occasions, it is conceived that this officer may be of some service."



DEFENCE OF ARCOT.

uation at Trichinopoli was hopeless, but he noticed that Chanda Sáhib, in over-eagerness to crush the English, had summoned all the troops from the fort at Arcot, leaving its weak fortifications defended by only 1,100 sepoy. Clive at once determined to make a bold dash for the capture of Arcot, intending to hold it until Chanda Sáhib and the French should be compelled to come to its rescue and raise the siege of Trichinopoli. Hurrying back to Madras, he persuaded the Governor to place at his disposal all the available troops, two hundred English and three hundred sepoy, with whom and three small guns he set out on his heroic enterprise.

At Arcot, sixty-nine miles from Madras, consternation reigned. Travellers brought in word that Clive and the English soldiers were advancing; that they had been seen marching unconcerned through a fearful storm of thunder, rain, and lightning. On receipt of the news the garrison fled, leaving everything to Clive and his small band of Europeans and sepoy. For fifty days Clive held out against the allied troops sent against him. He repelled several assaults; he led charges to drive the enemy from their advanced entrenchments; he even marched

mind of Clive succeeded: Chanda French allies were obliged to send to the siege of Arcot, thereby weakening before Trichinopoli and infusing fresh Muhammad Alí and his dispirited support was breached, by aid of the newly and Clive was left with but eighty one hundred and thirty sepoy to mantled walls one mile in circumference.

On November 14th the enemy, in bhang and drunk with the fury of fanaticism, advanced in four divisions headed by elephants with iron plates on their heads to break in the gates, two divisions to the breaches. Clive and his handful of for their lives along the crumbling wall to post they hurried, driving back the Clive, with his own hands working the shot clearing seventy men off a raft strove to cross the moat. After an hour besiegers were driven back, having lost killed and wounded in their attack, defenders only four Europeans and two Clive was reinforced from Fort St. David hundred Europeans and seven hundred

KÁVERIPÁK.

returned victorious to Fort St. David to the congratulations of the Governor and Council.

The French and their allies followed, and came into the country up to St. Thomas' Mount, but when they sallied forth against them from Madras at the head of 380 Europeans and 1,000 sepoy, with 12 pieces, they retreated to Káveripák, a village about ten miles east of Arcot. There they concentrated their artillery and cavalry in a dense grove of trees on the left by the side of the main road, along which Clive must advance, and in a deep chasm on the right. On the other side they hid away their infantry. Clive, with his troops and his troops marched leisurely down the hill with easy confidence, they were suddenly met by a battery of nine guns, which swept them down at not more than 250 yards' distance.

Clive, undoubtedly, over and over again urged his troops with reckless carelessness into peril, and as this, from which nothing but his own gallantry seemed to draw inspiration from the very jaws of danger, could have ever extricated him, it is easy to cavil at his conduct and tell of the disaster that might have followed if he had not but fail he never did, for with a charge he faced his enemies amid the smoke and

the enemy's cavalry, directing the rest to seek shelter from the guns in the woods by the roadside, and thence keep up a fire on the French infantry.

For two hours the artillery fire continued, the cavalry repeatedly charging Clive's position. At length it was discovered that the French had neglected to defend the back of the position where their guns were posted. Clive secretly ordered two hundred Europeans and four hundred sepoys within thirty yards of the French batteries to fire and poured in a volley among the gunners, leaving their guns behind them. The battle, which was decisive, was dearly won; forty of Clive's troops and thirty sepoys lay dead. The prestige of the French in the south of India had been shattered. Clive, before he returned to Madras, razed to the ground a city Dupleix had built and called after his own name, and there a triumphal column therein erected, on which was emblazoned in many languages a full account of the French victories.

From Trichinopoli the French, after vain remonstrances of Dupleix, retreated to the neighbouring island of Srírángam, leaving

prevent a relieving force from Pondicherry breaking through the English and joining the French, lay down to sleep in a rest-house near the entrance of the village temple. The camp was quiet: the English soldiers, Maráthá troopers, and armed sepoy were sleeping uneasily in and near the temple, while close at hand the sentinels, but half awake, paced to and fro. In the dead of night several hundred of the enemy's sepoy and eighty Europeans stole silently towards the camp, guided by a band of deserters from the English. The drowsy inquiries of the sentinels were answered by whispering that the force was a relief sent from Lawrence, silently making their way to the front of the temple. At last, the enemy first gave notice of their presence by a pouring volley after volley amid the sleeping soldiers. In an instant the camp awoke in startled surprise. Groans from the dying and confused cries from the awakened soldiers were mingled with the clatter of arms and heavy boom of the enemy's muskets. Through the shed where Clive lay sleeping, the bullet flew; a soldier by his side was shot dead, and a bullet the foot of his cot was shattered to fragments. Deeming that the firing close at hand came from his own troops, blindly repelling some imaginary

ordered them to surrender. His tone carried instant conviction ; the six French in confusion gave up their arms. The British broke away to fly from the vengeance of Maráthás, who were afterwards heard of not a single sepoy who entered the temple and escaped with his life. The remaining British with the European deserters sought refuge in the temple where, as it was found impossible to get them out, they were shut in till dawn. At day-break the temple was stormed, and after losing twelve men, Clive, weak and wounded, was led to the temple gate by a British soldier who stood by his side supporting him. The British were swaying to and fro offering terms once and again fired ; the shot missed Clive, slaying the British giants who were standing slightly in front of him. By the treacherous act the French threw down their arms and capitulated.

Shortly after the entire French force at Arcat was. Captain Law surrendered to Lawrence. The relieving force under d'Auteuil to Calcutta was completely broken down by the arc and returned home in 1753.

Dupleix remained still striving to

DUPLEIX AND CLIVE.

order to carry out his designs, he expended the health he had accumulated by private trade or gain from foreign princes; he was ignominiously recalled and his successor Godeheu, who arrived in 1754, assigned the exclusive right over the rich and fertile northern Circárs which Dupleix had succeeded in winning for the French, and gave up all claim to the undying titles so eagerly sought after by his predecessor. Insulted and laughed at at home as a impostor when he pressed his claims for the return of the money he had spent in the service of his country, Dupleix sank deeper and deeper into poverty and dejection, until at length, three days before his death, he wrote in the bitterness of despair, "My services are treated as fables, my demand is denounced as ridiculous; I am treated as the vilest of mankind and am in the most deplorable indigence."

Clive, on the other hand, had been feasted and flattered by the Court of Directors, and presented with a diamond-hilted sword, "as a token of their esteem and of their sense of his singular services," which he refused to receive until his old friend and commander, Major Lawrence, was also likewise honoured.

Clive soon grew tired of an inactive life in England

the day of the dire tragedy of the Calcutta.

Siráj-ud-Daulah, Viceroy of Bengal and Orissa, had long watched, with growing haughty anger, the dominant position acquired by the English and French dominions. Forts had been built, fort refuge given to those flying from his wrath while round Calcutta the famed Maráthás had been laboriously dug, though never to keep out the Maráthás, who levied tribute on villages in reach of their flying cohorts.

Not satisfied with the assurances given by the Governor of Calcutta that the new fort would not be raised against the native power, Siráj-ud-Daulah first captured the English at Kásimbázár, and then marched for Calcutta at the head of his forces, followed by the robbers of the neighbourhood to the number of some thousands, all eager to share in the sack of the city and the English traders. Of riches there were many in Calcutta, and of defences virtually none. The obsolete shells and fuses, dismantled guns too weak to support cannon, and warehouse

seek refuge in the ships lying in the river, two members of Council, officers of militia earning unenviable infamy, and subsequent dismissal for desertion, volunteering to accompany the fugitives and promising to return even when taunted for their cowardice. The Commandant, Captain Minchin, likewise fled, accompanied by the Governor, Mr. Drake, who unobtrusively escaped the parting shots fired after him. His comrades, with whom he lacked courage to share the fate, as they slowly turned to meet the foe. We might imagine that history could never have known a tale of fouler shame and infamy. So might the garrison have thought were it not for the fact that as they turned, with despair in their hearts, to meet their swarming foes, they saw the last of the ships sail out of sight, Captain Young of the *Endeavour* finding courage sufficient to declare that it would be dangerous to wait near or even to land a boat to take off his countrymen. Prayed to turn and bear away the wounded, he refused; prayed to send a boat with ammunition, for that the fort was all but exhausted, he refused; prayed to throw a cable to the *Prince George*, which lay stranded in endeavouring to return, he refused, saying he needed all he had for the safety of his own ship.

of India during the long months, when the rays of the sun pass away towards the clouds and the blasts of the hot winds cease to be succeeded by the dead, stifling heat which makes birds fall to the ground gasping with want of breath, no pen can ever convey an idea of the sufferings of those who died in agony on the 20th of June, when Calcutta was surrendered to Siráj-ud-Daulah.

As the night approached the prisoners, men and forty-six in number, all wearied by the day's wounds, were gathered together in the guard-room a space of eighteen feet square, walled in to form a prison cell. It had no iron-barred windows, opening into a courtyard. Into this cell, known to history as "The Black Hole of Calcutta," the prisoners were driven after the use of the bayonet.

Holwell has told the story of that night, which once read, ever haunts the memory, and which is an imaginings of a fevered nightmare, with its horrors of unutterable woes and fearful sufferings.

The first words of Holwell, advising the prisoners to crowd to make more room by removing their arms, were drowned by the cries of

BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA.

ards came close with lanterns to watch the scene, but words of foul abuse could rouse them to shoot the victims, nor promises of reward induce them to unlock the door, or even remove the dying. The narrative ends before the full tale of suffering was complete, and the narrator, Mr. Holwell, tells nothing after 2 a.m. when he wrote, "I found a stupor coming on again and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the Rev. Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his sword in the Lieutenant hand in hand."

In the morning twenty-three survivors were carried out of the "Black Hole," amongst them one woman, Mrs. Carey, whose husband had perished. From the whole dark history there comes but one ray of consolation, for, from the evidence collected by H. M. Stisted in his "Echoes from Old Calcutta," it is clear that Mrs. Carey was spared the ignominious fate as long believed she suffered, as narrated by Holwell, Orme, Macaulay, and other historians. It seems now certain that she was released and lived in honour down to the year 1801, among her own people.

It is possible that Siráj-ud-Daulah may have known nothing of the events that transpired during the night, but when details of the slaughter were brought him in the morning he displayed neither emotion

Watson. It was not until the end of the month that the ships sailed up the Húglí and landed his troops at Maiápur. After a march of fifteen hours over swampy land they arrived late at night within one mile and a half of Baj-baj, twelve miles from Calcutta. Exhausted and tired, they lay down to rest in front of a dried-up lake, intending to attack in the morning. They were here surrounded by the enemy, who, as soon as all were sleeping in the night, opened fire and seized the guns, which had been left unprotected and unguarded. Clive had again been overcome by indifference, marched straight into the trap, and the enemy, but again his presence of mind saved him. Advancing his soldiers the guns were recovered, the foe driven off with heavy slaughter, and the words, "the skirmish in all lasted about an hour, in which time . . . 9 private men were wounded." In the meantime the guns were recovered. Watson's fleet breached the fort, and a party of British landed to co-operate with Clive. One of the British named Strahan, being intoxicated, fell from his horse and stumbled about until he reached the shore. He then entered through one of the breaches and was killed himself alone in the midst of the enemy.

CLIVE AT CALCUTTA.

rahan being ordered up for punishment in the morning, he indignantly swore that if he was flogged he would never again so long as he lived, take another flogging by himself.

The fort at Húglí was captured by Captain Eyre with a loss of two Europeans and ten sepoy. After which the avenging force raided the surrounding country, returning to Calcutta with a booty of some £50,000.

Siráj-ud-Daulah, raging at the insult offered to his power, at once collected together troops to the number of 40,000, and marched again towards Calcutta, the course being marked by the smoke and flames from the villages his followers burned and plundered. Clive collected together all his troops—650 European soldiers, 600 sailors from Watson's fleet, 14 field pieces, with 150 European artillery, and 800 sepoy—and started on February 4th, at three o'clock in the morning to drive Siráj-ud-Daulah's immense army from before Calcutta. In a dense fog he marched on, his troops pausing now and then to fire, they knew not where, to their right and left. A rocket from the enemy's outposts exploded the ammunition in the cartridge-box of one of Clive's sepoy, and was followed by explosions from the ammunition of others.

and reached Calcutta towards noon, having lost twenty field-pieces, twenty Europeans, and one hundred poys in his daring assault.

The enemy was thoroughly cowed. Siráj-ud-Daulah withdrew his troops and sued for peace, for not only did he fear the next move of Clive, but from the north came the dreaded news that the Afghán ruler Ahmad Sháh Duráni, had invaded the land and captured the imperial city of Delhi.

Clive was nothing loth to enter into a truce. War had been declared between Great Britain and France, and he was anxious to obtain the aid and consent of Siráj-ud-Daulah to an attack on the French settlement of Chandranagar. A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, against all common foes, was accordingly entered into. Siráj-ud-Daulah agreed to give up all the factories and property he had taken. The Company was granted permission to fortify Calcutta, to coin money at their own mint, and to carry the merchandise through native territory without payment of tolls.

The treaty signed, the Viceroy wavered in his promise to aid the English in their attack on the French settlement. The fame of the troops of Busson had reached his ears, and it was whispered abroad

rewell ; remember that he who promises you the
 ever yet broke his word with you or with any man
 whatsoever."

With or without the consent or aid of the Viceroy
 was at length decided that Chandranagar should
 be attacked before Bussy could come to the rescue.
 At Chandranagar the French had but a feeble
 garrison of 146 Europeans and 300 sepoy, supplied
 by 300 civilians and sailors hastily armed.
 Against these Admiral Watson brought up his fleet,
the Kent, of 64 guns ; *The Tiger*, of 60 guns ; and
the Salisbury, of 50 guns—while Clive advanced
 with 700 Europeans, 1,500 sepoy and artillery.
 Defence was not long possible ; treachery showed
 Watson a safe passage for his ships, the bastions
 were swept of their defenders, 100 of the garrison
 were slain, and on the 23rd of March, 1757, the
 fort surrendered.

This success of the English so roused the fear and
 anger of Siráj-ud-Daulah, that he wrote to Busby
 praying him to march from the Deccan to his aid.
 The letters fell into the hands of Clive, who summed
 up the situation by declaring "the Nawáb is a villain
 and cannot be trusted ; he must be overthrown or
 must fall."

chand, a wealthy Hindu banker, being trusted in carrying out the negotiations. At this Clive found his carefully laid plans like a mill-stone. Aminchand suddenly declared that he would join the plot to Siráj-ud-Daulah unless he promised that his share of the spoil should be ten per cent. on all the treasures at Murshidabad worth of 30 lakhs of rupees, more than £300,000. Clive bought the silence of Aminchand, promising him all he desired, and to sign a declaration to that effect. To Watts, Resident at the Vizier's Court, and chief agent in the revolution, Clive said, "Omichund is the greatest villain up to this time; to counter-plot the scoundrel and at the same time to give him no room to suspect our intent, you will receive two forms of agreement. One is to be strictly kept by us, the other fictitious, a real treaty, signed by all the allies, was on white paper, the fictitious treaty was on red paper, signed, with the exception of the signature of Admiral Watson, which was forged when he refused to have anything to do with the matter. Clive, when afterwards asked before the House of Commons to defend his action, haughtily replied, 'he thought "it warrantable in such a case."

PLASSEY.

premacv of the English in India, his admiration for the genius of Clive must have been mingled with feelings of sorrow that the fame of the great general would ever be tarnished by that one act of calculated deceit.

At Plassey Clive stood with nine small guns and a force of 3,000 men, of whom 2,100 were native troops surrounded by 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, a large force and warlike Patháns, 53 pieces of artillery, and a body of Frenchmen forty to fifty in number. Clive hesitated long before venturing to attack, for he knew that if Mír Jafar again turned traitor and joined his forces to those of the Viceroy none among the British troops would escape to tell the tale.

The danger of the situation is seen from the fact that Clive for the first time called together a council of his officers, to whom he proposed the question, "Whether, in our present position, without assistance and on our own bottom, it would be prudent to attack, or whether we should wait till joined by some co-operative power?"

Clive's own name heads the list of those who voted for no further advance, Eyre Coote's name heads the list of those who voted for immediate attack. When the Council broke up Clive wandered apart by him-

sun blazed across the wide field of battle. Clive ascended to the roof of a small hunting tent, where he had lain without sleep during the night. On his right were the troops of the wavering Siráj-ud-Daulah, now biding his time to cast in his lot with the side likely to win. Should Clive be victorious, Siráj-ud-Daulah's cavalry were ready to sweep down on the rear and pillage his baggage; should the British Siráj-ud-Daulah fall back, the troops of his rival, the Commander-in-Chief, would range themselves on the flank of Clive. From where stood the camp of Siráj-ud-Daulah, 38,000 of the enemy, with the French and the British in the centre, stretched in a semicircle. The British soldiers of Clive, still sleeping quietly in the mango grove guarded by a ditch and a low wall of banks. As Clive watched the scene in the distance, the first shot from the French guns woke him, and laid low two of their number. Soon the British artillery of the enemy was in full play, and the British by Clive's six light guns. Eagerly the British of Siráj-ud-Daulah pressed forward to the front, a handful of English into the deep British. Clive's soldiers lay safe behind the shelter of the low banks, and the shells and shot sang harshly over their heads.

fort to silence the English gunners, but as he charged at the head of his cavalry he fell dead before the flying grape-shot. With frantic haste Siráj-ud-Daulah gave orders for the troops to fall back. He called Mír Jafar to his side, told him of his loss, and casting his turban at the traitor's feet, prayed him to fight against the foreign foe. Mír Jafar, vowing that he would bring up his troops and defend his chief, hastened away to send word to Clive to advance and win the day. The English charged from their entrenchments, taking care to fire now and then on the treacherous troops of Mír Jafar to make them keep their distance. By five o'clock the whole army of Siráj-ud-Daulah was in full retreat, the band of Frenchmen in the centre standing firm until Clive drove them from their position and captured their guns. The Viceroy fled, leaving behind his wealth, baggage, cattle, elephants, and artillery, and five hundred of his troops dead and wounded on the field.

After the battle of Plassey, in which the English lost seven Europeans and sixteen sepoy, Mír Jafar presented himself to receive the reward of his treachery. As the English soldiers presented arms he started back in alarm at the rattle of the muske-

of rapine and plunder. To the right and left was stored up the long-accumulated wealth of the richest provinces of India. In the treasury of Siráj-ud-Daulah gold and silver were piled high. The custodians came forward to place on Clive's head with jewels. In after years when he was charged before the House of Commons for being over-greedy, he boldly exclaimed, "I stand before you, Chairman, at this moment I stand before my own moderation!"

For the Company he claimed the right to the lands south of Calcutta, 882 square miles, and payment of the usual rent. He claimed 10,000,000 rupees as compensation for the loss of the army and for the expenses of the campaign. For the soldiers who had suffered during the capture of Calcutta and Siráj-ud-Daulah he claimed 8,000,000 rupees. For the army 2,500,000 rupees, for the navy 2,500,000 rupees, and other large sums for the Government of Bengal. The Committee at Calcutta. For himself he claimed besides 280,000 rupees as Member of the Council, 200,000 rupees as Commander-in-Chief, 200,000 rupees as a private donation—in all, 2,000,000 rupees. Be it remembered that at the time when these claims were made the rupee was worth two

DUTCH AND FRENCH.

the assistance of the Company's troops in repelling the threatened invasion of his dominions by the son of the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawáb Wazír of Oude. In return Clive was granted a right to retain in his own hands the rent of the lands south of Calcutta, which, according to the agreement after Plassey, had been annually paid by the English to the Viceroy. By this agreement Clive virtually became landlord of the East India Company. The amount, some £30,000 yearly, was paid to him from 1765 until his death in 1774, when the right to collect and keep the revenues was passed to the Company.

The supremacy of the Company firmly established in Bengal, the richest province in India, needed to be maintained and supported by the careful husbanding of the resources and revenues of the newly-acquired lands, so that it might finally become powerful enough to triumph over all rivals. The Dutch still had their settlement at Chinsurah, twelve miles above Calcutta, and in the Deccan the French under Bussy supported the Nizám, or Viceroy, Saláwt, the revenues of the "Northern Circárs," the districts of Ganjám, Vizagapatam, Godávári, and Sistná, some seventeen thousand square miles extent, having been assigned to them for the main

driven out of the Northern Circárs their main source of revenue.

The Dutch at Chinsurah, finding themselves weakened by the absence of Forde, demanded that their ships should be allowed to pass to Calcutta without being searched and without the charge of an English pilot as well as that the trade in saltpetre, then monopolized in the hands of the English Company, should be thrown open. Receiving no satisfaction to their demands, the Dutch openly commenced capturing some English ships in the river. Forde once collected together a body of about 1000 men, hastily recalled Forde from the North, and while Admiral Cornish, with three more ships, went up the river, and destroyed six of the Dutch vessels, the last of the squadron being captured, he took possession of the river. As soon as Colonel Clive arrived at Calcutta he marched out with 3200 men, 2000 sepoy, and 50 European volunteers. On the 23rd, near Chinsurah, he found himself opposed to a force of 700 Europeans and 800 Malabars. When a force assembled against him he wrote to the Governor for advice. Clive, who was playing whist, sent a hurried message in pencil "Dear Sir,

Fort St. David had fallen before Count Lally. Madras held out, though closely invested by the French troops from December, 1758, to February, 1759. Enraged at the long resistance and lack of patience with the incompetence and ignorance of his officers, the overbearing and haughty spirit of Lally at length broke forth. He threatened to hang the members of the Council at Pondicherry on their waggons when they delayed in sending him supplies or money. Knowing nothing of the count's character, they rejected with contempt the advice, founded on long experience, of Bussy, estranging all by his hot temper and hasty measures. Ignorant of the ways of the people of India, and caring nothing for their offended pride, he drove the high caste merchants and Brahmins to carry on menial works in his camp. By February, 1759, his supplies had almost failed, his native troops were fast deserting, and his European soldiers making overtures to join the enemy. When the English fleet under Admiral Pocock appeared in sight he was reluctantly obliged to raise the siege of Madras, leave behind him his sick and wounded, his artillery and ammunition, and retire to Pondicherry, where the news of his failure was received with unconcealed joy.

power in India, never again to rise. In 1760, Count Lally was finally defeated by Coote at the battle of Wandewash ; British prisoner, the French retreating to Pondicherry, which capitulated in January of the next year.

Dupleix and La Bourdonnais had been sacrificed as a reward for their endeavours to secure out a future for their country in the East. But the brave, the impetuous hero of the battle of Wandewash, thanked on the field of battle by Marquis Bussy, was rewarded by Louis XV. with a colonel's rank. His Brigade of Dillon, was to fall the last victim to British power to accomplish a task, impossible so long as British power was not secured on the seas, and in the Indian as well as Eastern waters, he failed, as had Dupleix. La Bourdonnais had failed, and for his services on returning to France, was thrown into the Bastille, convicted of having betrayed the interests of France. "and as a reward for 35 years' service," he bitterly moaned, brought forth gagged and blindfold, driven on a cart used for refuse, to the guillotine at Grève, where he was executed.

Through all these contests Clive had been supported by England to support him. With the aid of the East India Company he had turned from the south, where

power had crept all over the land, up the Ganges to Benares, further on to the Hímálayas, gaining wealth, power, and strength, to raise armies to subdue south and west, plant the British standard by the Indus, sweep in the garnered wealth of Oudh, and then hand over the dominions and trade in the hands of the English, to the safe-keeping of the Queen-Empress.

On the 25th of February, 1760, at the age of thirty, Clive sailed for England, where he received from George III. an Irish Peerage as Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, as a reward for the services he had rendered to his country; for, in the words of Earl Stanhope, "Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, Portugal to her Albuquerque, this—and in its result more than this—is due from England to Clive. Had he never been born, I do not believe that we should have conquered Hindustan; had he lived longer, I doubt if we should have lost North America." Clive remained in England, and the Government of Bengal passed into the hands of Mr. Vansittart, while the French were still fighting in the south. The Mir Jafar had agreed to pay after the battle of Plassey had not been fully paid, and the money was to be paid by the British on 65 a year factors

method to meet the growing ex-
found. Accordingly Mr. Vansittart
Court of Proprietors that in con-
general confusion and disaffection of
the very low state of the Company
other of these resolutions was imm-
—either to drop our connexions
Government and withdraw our
insist on more ample as well as mor-
for the support of the Company's e-

The Viceroy was old, said to be
indolent, while his son-in-law, Mír
bid high for the post. In the dead-
was removed and Mír Kásim inst-
that he should pay the arrears due
grant the revenues of Bardwán
Chittagong, and 50 lakhs of ru-
expenses of the war in the south.
Mr. Vansittart, was to receive £300,000,
£27,000, others sums of £25,000,
£13,000. The revenues of the wh-
now in the hands of the servants.
Having the right of free passage, w-
tax or toll, for the inland produ-
traded, they commenced for a

organising his troops under two soldiers of fortune, Reinhardt an Alsatian, and Markar an Armenian. When two ships from Calcutta appeared at Mungaherry carrying arms for the English troops at Patná, he detained the ships and placed the officers in charge under guard. Mr. Ellis, the English Governor, was expelled by seizing the city. The Viceroy's troops under Reinhardt and Markar came to the rescue. Ellis and his followers were hemmed in, captured and placed in imprisonment. War was once proclaimed. Mír Kásim's forces were defeated by Major John Adams at Kátwá and Gheriá, four thousand of them being driven back with fearful slaughter from the fortress at the gorge of Undwala. Mír Kásim, incensed at the success of the company, gave orders that Mr. Ellis and the prisoners should be instantly executed. On the 10th of October, 1763, Walter Reinhardt, summoned Sambre by his companions, and Samru the natives, forced two companies of his sepoy to carry out the order, and Ellis, with two hundred unarmed men, women, and children, were brutally massacred. Patná was soon afterwards captured by Major Adams; but Mír Kásim escaping under the escort of Samru, sought protection

driven forth by his allies, weary of
and inability to raise the funds he
towards the expenses of the war.
afterwards in abject poverty.

Hector Munro, having with prompt
ing severity quelled the first Sepoy
by blowing from the guns twenty-four
troops, advanced against the allied
defeated with terrible slaughter in the
of Baksar on the 23rd of October, 1764.

Benares immediately surrendered,
capitulated to Sir Robert Fletcher, lea
Wazír of Oudh, deserted by Samru
but to sue for peace on terms to be
English. The result of this decisive
only to Plassey, was fully recognised by
to Pitt, in 1766, "It is scarcely hyper
morrow the whole Mogul Empire is
Mír Jafar, again installed as viceroy,
wards, and left a legacy of 5 lakhs of
who handed the amount over to
Calcutta to form a fund for the relief
soldiers invalided or disabled during s
for widows of officers and soldiers dyi
a fund known for over a century a

CLIVE RESTORES ORDER.

Mír Kásim on receiving a sum of 10 lakhs to be divided among them as they should

The Court of Directors in London thoroughly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of the Calcutta Council, as well as at the private trade of their servants which led to financial ruin to the Company's own advantage accordingly wrote to the Governor of Bengal as the grand source of the disputes, misunderstandings and difficulties which have occurred with the Government appears evidently to have resulted from the unwarrantable and licentious carrying on private trade of the Company. . . . In order, therefore, to remedy all these disorders we do hereby positively order and direct that on the receipt of this letter, a final and effectual stop be forthwith put to the Inland Trade in Salt and tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever bought and consumed in the Country."

Fearing that this order would not be carried out, the Court of Directors supported it in 1764 by praying Clive to proceed to Calcutta to place their affairs in order. This determination was conveyed to the Council at Bengal in the following words:—"The General Court of Proprietors

four members independent of the B. When one member of the old Council, ventured to ask some questions respecting the power of the committee, Clive, as he haughtily asked him "if he would dare authority? Mr. Johnstone replied, that the least intention of doing such a thing there was an appearance of very little countenances, and not one of the C. another syllable."

Within two days of Clive's arrival at Council, especially their indecent haste in receiving the new Viceroy, and their reception of present censured by Clive, who sums up his opinion of their procedure by writing, "Alas! how our name sunk! I could not avoid paying a few tears to the departed and lost British Nation (irrecoverably so, I fear."

Clive landed on Tuesday; the following day the Select Committee directed that a resolution to take bribes or presents for the future be signed by all Members of Council, and all the Company's servants, who, as Clive says, made many idle and evasive arguments, and refused to understand that they must either

How far the general corruption and laxity he read during his absence may be judged from one of his letters home, in which he declares, "I fear that Military as well as Civil are so far gone in luxury and debauchery, that it will require the utmost exertion of our united Committee to save the Company from destruction."

Noteworthy are his words as he viewed with alarm the position which he was sent out to face: "If idleness and conquest were to be the rule of our conduct, we foresee that we should by necessity be led from requisition to acquisition until we had the whole Empire up in arms against us." He dwells carefully on the great danger that may arise if once the natives throw off their "natural indolence," combining to carry on a "war against us in a much more soldierly manner than they ever thought of."

Having placed the internal affairs of the Company on a firm basis, Clive proceeded to conclude peace with the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, for, at that period he conceived it essential, as he wrote, "to conciliate the affections of the country powers, to remove any jealousy they may entertain of our unbounded ambition, and to convince them that we aim not in conquest and dominion, but security in carrying

revenues of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Circárs, the Emperor receiving in annual tribute of £260,000, and the new annual allowance of £600,000 wherewith dancing girls. The collection of the these districts was left in the hands of agents, for, as the Directors wrote, they "how unfit an Englishman is to conduct of revenues and to follow the subtle nature of all his art is to conceal the real value or to perplex and elude the payment." By the conquest of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa virtually the property of the Company—a proposition, in the opinion of Clive, to yield a yearly revenue of millions sterling. The acquisition, in fact, of everything that could have been conceived in the wildest imagination of Dupleix and in the mind of Clive, "To go further is, in my opinion, extravagantly ambitious, that no Government in their senses can accept it unless the constitution of the Company's interests be first remodelled."

As a barrier between the limits of the Company's territories and the north of India, the independent sovereign of Oudh was left in power.

in order to carry out the policy of the Directors, he reorganised the entire system of the inland trade. The sale of salt had been virtually monopolised by the Company's servants, who paid neither duty nor toll, or at most a small one of a few per cent. That this was a lucrative business may be seen from the fact that with good management it would have paid over 200 per cent. on the capital expended. It was, however, declared illegal as well as the trade in betel nut, tobacco, and all articles not intended for import or export. Some effort was made by compensation, to the senior military and civil officers, but was made by Clive, who formed a fund to carry on the trade under public management in the profits which they were to participate in fixed proportions according to their rank—a system, however, not finally approved of by the Directors.

This measure, and the curtailment of a special allowance made to military officers when on active service or away from headquarters—a privilege enjoyed since the days of Plassey—resulted in open mutiny, two hundred officers threatening to resign their commissions on the same day unless the allowance was restored.

Sir Robert Fletcher, Commandant at Munro,

by martial law, six were convicted of murder, and were not allowed to recall their resignations until they had been recognised as an act of extreme grace.

Clive remained in India one year, during which time, in the words of the Directors, he "effected one of the most extensive and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by a statesman."

His health breaking down he determined to return home, notwithstanding that the Directors had urged him to remain, for as they wrote: "The Directors of the Proprietors, indeed, we may say, will be to join in our request, that you should continue another year in India," their own words were: "Your own example has been the principal cause of restraining the general rapaciousness and avarice which had brought our affairs so near ruin."

Clive, however, could not be induced to remain. He left India finally on the 29th of March, 1768, at a time when, in consequence of the war with the United Provinces, the price of Stock had gone up to 263, and the price of the Company's shares had risen from 6 to 10, and even to 12.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

£400,000 to the Exchequer yearly, on a revenue derived from their newly acquired India.

These fair hopes of prosperity, however, did not last long. In the south of India Haider Ali, risen to power, extended his kingdom as far north as the Kistná, established a mart on the west coast at Mangalore, and he ravaged the country round Madras up to Mount, impoverishing the Madras Government.

In 1770 Bengal was devastated by a famine during the course of which one-third of its inhabitants died, the trade becoming disorganised, and the revenues remaining unproductive.

By 1773 the Company were virtually bankrupt. Although their shares paid a dividend of 10 per cent. the year before, they had been obliged to raise to the extent of £1,290,000, their Capital Stock being to £4,000,000, being represented by credits in England, China, India, St. Helena, and the sea, by a sum of £2,930,658 10s. 10d.

An application to the Government for £1,000,000 to enable them to carry on their operations led to an inquiry into the whole affairs of the Company, and an impeachment of Clive's and

had "abused the power with which he was entrusted to the evil example of the servants of the Company, to the dishonour and detriment of the country, by contenting themselves with passing a resolution of censure on "Robert, Lord Clive, did render great services to his country"—a resolution passed in 1772 to soothe the worn-out spirit of the victor who died by his own hand, after suffering, at his house in Berkeley Square, of a long illness.

The Company was released from the obligation of the £400,000, it was lent for five years, being, however, debarred from receiving a dividend of more than 6 per cent. until the loan was repaid. Lord North's Act of 1773 at the same time defined the scope of Parliamentary control over the whole of the Company. Copies of all papers respecting military affairs in India were to be sent to the Secretaries of State and Lords of the Council within fourteen days of receipt. The Commander-in-Chief in India was to be nominated by the Crown, he was to hold office for five years, and was to have a casting vote in a new Council of four members. A Supreme Court of Justice was established at Calcutta, with a Chief Justice and four



VI.

WARREN HASTINGS.

NO Governor-General of India has ever been called to undertake a task more complex in all its details than that undertaken by Warren Hastings when he was summoned by the Directors of the East India Company to assume charge of their affairs in Bengal. No Governor-General has had more difficulties to counter, not only from opposition in his own Council Chamber, but also from those at home who had served, and from whom he might have hoped for encouragement and some amount of loyal support. No Governor-General has been so traduced, maligned and misrepresented by those whose enmity he incurred by thwarting their self-interested intrigues, or by an exposure of their frauds and incapacities, as he, or by those who had full opportunities

inquiries or calm decisions will ever be the memory of the words of impassioned denunciation of dramatic force with which nearly every act of his life was denounced by the great orators of his time, who used all their unrivalled powers to impress the imagination of their audience with the enormity of the offences charged against him, and the malice of his enemies.

Of Hastings it can be truly said that what was accomplished—and it was much—was done by him with a foresight vouchsafed only to a few great spirits of his, what the interests of the Company and his country, demanded for the extension and the firm establishment of the British Empire in the East whereon that commerce could alone flourish.

Arriving in India at the age of nineteen in 1750, Hastings, like Clive, was first employed in the ordinary clerical duties attached to the office of Secretary in the East India Company's service. In 1754 he was transferred to the factory at Calcutta on the Ganges. There his chief occupations were to have been the making of bargains with the native traders for the supply of silk stuffs to the Company to enrich the London merchants. In 1756 he witnessed the dire catastrophe of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

1756, died in 1759, leaving two children, who did not survive.

On the return of Clive to England, Hastings, then in his twenty-ninth year, was appointed Member of Council at Calcutta. In the years of deplorable mismanagement which followed, Hastings, in the words of Macaulay, "was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which ensued. It is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and proclaim his guilt."

After fourteen years' service in the enervating climate of Bengal he returned home with but a comparatively small income. His generosity to his relatives and financial losses soon left him no option but to apply once again to the Court of Directors for employment in their service in the East—his application at once acceded to, for Hastings had been the Directors recorded in their order appointing him second Member of Council at Madras, "servant many years upon the Bengal establishment with great ability and unblemished character." Borrowing money wherewith to buy an outfit, he sailed, in 1769, from Dover, to build anew his fortunes in the East.

he was directed to proceed to Calcutta in charge of the Government, and, if possible, to bring order out of the chaos into which the Company had lapsed.

From Clive he received a letter of instructions, directing him to "be impartial and just, and to be regardless of the interest of individuals, when the honour of the nation and the real interests of the Company are at stake, and resolute in the execution of your determination, which shall at all times be rather founded upon your own sense than that of others," and at the same time to flatter yourself that time and pains will at last get the better of everything."

The problem before Hastings was to defend Calcutta from attacks by native powers the threat of which Clive, how to raise revenue from the territories to satisfy the expenses of administration, and the of the Directors, as well as the heavy liabilities to be incurred for wars which must inevitably occur in the near future. To effect these objects "it is impossible to do more than in a letter to Sir George Colebrooke, who has made errors; and there are cases . . . in which it will be necessary to adopt expedients which

MARÁTHÁS.

the seventeenth century—when first a bands of raiding and robbing horsemen led forth annually from their mountain amid the highlands of the west by their Sivají—grown to be an organised force of soldiers, who under their chieftains levied contributions far and wide over all the rich valleys outside the Company's possessions at Bombay, Cutta, and Madras.

As the successors of Sivají became effeminate their power passed to the haughty and astute Bráhmaṇ ministers, or Peshwás, who made their headquarters at Poona. At the close of the century successful leaders gathered around them a large number of horsemen who claimed the right to levy contributions over defined districts, and thus rendering a more or less loyal allegiance to the Peshwás. Holkar, descendant of a shepherd, established his sovereignty around his capital at Indore, while those whose ancestors were hereditary slippers of the proud Peshwás, established himself at Gwalior, while Baroda fell to the Gujars, and Nágpur to the Bhonslas. One final effect of this great rising Hindu nationality and the overthrow of the Mughals was made by the

cut to pieces 200,000 of the light M
slew the bravest of their chieftains, i
and cousin of their Peshwá—or, a
wailed amid their mountain home
have been dissolved, twenty-seven g
been lost, and of the silver and
cannot be cast up.”

Terrible though the calamity wa
on the Maráthás, they soon gath
together to dispute the sovereignty
India Company. In 1769 they r
vastating the territories of the fi
and by 1771 they had once again
the Emperor at Delhi, forcing him
them the districts of Kora and A
to him in 1765 by Clive, in return
the Governorship over Bengal, Be
In consequence of this defection of t
the side of the English, Hastings r
possession of the districts of Kora
but withheld the annual tribute of
it had been customary to pay him fr
of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Hastings, so far as the Company's
interests were concerned, had brillia

ROHILLAS.

firm and wise administration; it yet remained to secure them from all possibility of Maráthá invasion, that the Company might have time to secure its position and gain strength and power for its ultimate expansion. Between the Company's possessions and the Maráthás it was necessary to build up a strong and friendly native state which might receive the first possible shock, the first rude shock of an invader's army.

To the west of Bengal and Behar lay Oudh, ruled by its Nawáb Wazír. Beyond Oudh, stretching almost to the Himálayas, lay the land of the Rohillas, a fierce race of Pathán warriors who came originally from beyond the Indus, conquered the rich, fertile plains, and subdued the effete Hindú peasants. With the Rohillas the Maráthás had a deadly feud, not only because they were of different nationalities and religion, but because the Rohillas had stood aloof and allowed the Afgháns to slaughter the Maráthá chieftains at Pánípat. The Maráthás did not wait long for vengeance. In 1772 they swarmed into the Rohillas, who were obliged to turn in their distress to Shujá-ud-Daulá, the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh, to whom they offered 40 lakhs of rupees if he would come to their aid and drive back the mara-

the demand was pressed he threatened forces to those of his former foes, and raid the territories of Oudh and Company.

Hastings at once summoned the Nawáb to meet him at Benares, so that they might discuss measures for the future defence of the Rohillas. At the meeting which ensued it was decided that Rohillas should be driven from Rohilkhand by the united force of Oudh and the Company. The Nawáb Wazír should, after the campaign, receive the outlying districts of Kora and Allahábád held to him by the Emperor; and that the Company should receive the 40 lakhs of rupees a year, and a further sum of 210,000 rupees monthly while its troops were engaged in the Rohillas, to defray the expenses. By the victories of Plassey and Buxar Clive won a foothold for the Company in India by this treaty, as Hastings wrote to the Nawáb Wazír would obtain "a complete command of the country from the mountains of Thibet, while he would be accessible to our forces from the sea, either for hostilities or for protection.

ues of Hastings, neither his age nor our age, in
 compulsory struggle for existence, can judge. The
 problem, differing in none of its essential details
 before us to-day in our determination to hold our
 sessions in Africa as a field for the outlet of our
 productions, as well as in the consistent efforts of
 Russia to gain seaports in the Mediterranean or
 North Pacific, so as to establish a commerce
 prosperity for herself in the future, by means which
 inevitably destined to end in success. All we are
 concerned with is the fact that Hastings in his de-
 als with the native powers had but one main id
 ore him—that of serving the interests of the E
 lia Company, and establishing on a secure basis
 undation of the British Empire in India, so t
 e commercial enterprise of the London mercha
 ould have its necessary development. If in t
 ere be discovered any taint of turpitude, not
 Hastings alone but by the nation at large must
 ume be borne.

Rohilkhand was conquered, Hafiz Rāhmat Khan
 ed bravely fighting, along with two thousand of
 oops, while the remaining Rohillas were sent fo
 cross the Ganges, to seek new settlements for the
 lves in the districts round Meerut. The usual hor

The Company's territories once freed from all fear of invasion, their administration inaugurated on a system which in its essentials has lasted down to our own days. Under the influence of Hastings the administration of Bengal and Orissa, and the collection of the land revenues had been left in the hands of the native rulers, Muhammad Raza Khán being placed in charge of Bengal and Shitáb Rái—a brave soldier who had fought for the Company during the outbreak of 1757—in charge of the local government at Benares. But when it had, however, reached the Court of Directors that the revenues were being misappropriated by the native officials and their native subordinates, and that their revenues, as well as their trade, had become a matter of vital importance to the Company, the Lords accordingly sent notice to Hastings that they deemed it full time "to take upon themselves the agency of their own servants, and to have the control and administration of the revenues of Bengal and Orissa to be directed from Calcutta." The officials were to proceed to the local districts, and, aided by the subordinate native officials, commence as collectors, the administration of the land revenues, Muhammad Raza Khán being placed in charge of Bengal and Shitáb Rái in charge of Orissa.

ged speculations and maladministration of Mammad Raza Khán and Shitáb Rái, hoping that after his downfall he would rise to power, and be placed at the supreme revenue control. Ever has the cunning and crafty Bráhmaṇ swayed the councils of rulers and princes in India, but now for the first time in history the astute Bráhmaṇ's intrigues had travelled beyond the land of his birth, and worked their way among the simple London merchants. In vain Hastings told the Court of Directors that "From the year 1759 to the time when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man, because I judged him to be adverse to the welfare of my employers." By the Directors Hastings was exhorted to listen to the words of their trusted adviser, Nanda Kumár, and bring Mammad Raza Khán and Shitáb Rái to trial.

Knowing well that the mind of a Bráhmaṇ is like a mirror in which only the face of the fool who looks therein is reflected, Hastings, who could read the intentions and all the ways of men, bowed his head and ventured no further to tell the Directors how Nanda Kumár had deceived them. His loyal obedience to the dictates of the Directors was received by them with extreme gratification, for, as they wrote, it

silent rage over his thwarted plans, sought to ruin had been declared charges brought against them, and to English officials. To him one concession. His son, Rájá Gurdás, was appointed affairs of the minor Viceroy of Ben- dian was the Manni Begam, widow roy. Nanda Kumár remained silent power of a Bráhmaṇ could in time w his will.

Three of the new Council appointed Regulating Act of Lord North arrived. Hastings became the first Governor yearly salary of £25,000. General C Monson, and Philip Francis, all men judices, and totally unacquainted with India, came to aid Hastings with Sir Elijah Impey and three judges a new Court of Justice. The former Council, Mr. Richard Barwell, was a of the Government of Bengal.

It cannot fairly be said that the most remarkable among the newly landed is the most contemptible character for India is a land in which intrigue

rogant and insolent, a man prone to malevolence and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for public virtue."

But a character such as his was doomed to fail in India, though unfortunately it found full scope for venting its malevolence in after days against Hastings in England. Such a character is common in the East. It could be read by the natives and Hastings who was saturated with Oriental feeling just as a learned man reads a book written in a language to him well known.

The three new Members of Council, headed by Philip Francis, commenced on their arrival a systematic, hostile investigation into the past administration of Hastings. The Treaty of Benares was condemned, the Rohilla war declared unjust, and the mode in which it had been carried on denounced as sanguinary and vindictive. The newly appointed Resident at Lucknow was removed, the troops recalled from Rohilkhand, and the Nawáb Wazír ordered to pay up all the arrears due to the Company under the treaty. On the death of the Nawáb Wazír, on the 6th of February, 1775, the majority of the Council forced on the young Nawáb Wazír, Asáf-ud-Daula, a new treaty. A sum of one crore and a half

The news went forth among the British that Hastings was no longer supreme ; that his power had been usurped by agents of the Company, who had been sent from England to depose him. Nanda Kumár at the same time took note that Philip Francis was anxious to gain the Governor-Generalship, and was therefore willing to listen to any lying words that might be put into him in ruining Hastings.

On the 11th of March, 1775, Francis presented a memorial before the Council, and presented Nanda Kumár, accusing Hastings of having received bribes of £100,000 and £40,000 from Mir Jafar and Hammad Raza Khán and Shitáb Khan, and of shielding them from the charges of embezzlement and malpractices. In the same memorial he further charged with having received 1,00,000 lakhs and 54,000 rupees from the Nanda Kumár, and from the Manni Begam, and from the gifts of Nanda Kumár's son and the other officers to the Viceroy's establishment. Hastings, indignant at the insult offered to him at the Council-table, withdrew with indignation, and was supported by his sole supporter, Richard Barwell. The case was held by the remaining three ; Nanda Kumár was examined, the documents were im-

TRIAL OF NANDA KUMÁR.

but his cunning could not compass the downfall of the Governor-General. He himself had been guilty of forgery, a forgery of a bond purporting to be a receipt in acknowledgment of a debt due by a Hindu banker, whose death in 1769 he had presented the forged bond, and been paid the money mentioned thereon. The bond, torn to show that it had been paid and cancelled, was filed in the Mayor's Court. To make the secret of this forgery was known, but it had been found impossible to get possession of the document from the Mayor's Court. At length, after more than a year's efforts the document was surrendered in April, 1775, and Nanda Kumár was arrested on a charge of forgery. He was tried by the Chief Justice, three puisne judges, and an English jurist. The trial lasted seven days, and, according to James Stephen, who exhaustively examined the whole of the evidence, "no man ever had, or could have, a fairer trial." Nanda Kumár was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. In vain he looked for help. In vain he prayed Francis to intercede, and save from pollution the sacred body of the Brahman, so that "I shall not accuse you in the eyes of my judgment of neglecting to assist me in the duty which I am now in." Francis knew too well that

believe, is well assured that no man for his own safety will venture to stand forth.

The death of Colonel Monson in 1776 left Hastings, with the vote of Barwell, in the Council to revoke a resignation given home some time previously, which Clavering, in August, 1777, set him on a line of consistent policy towards the true bearings and tendencies of the situation which he could understand.

Dangers which threatened the stability of the newly founded British Empire in India were crowding in from all sides.

In 1773, when the English Parliament granted to the East India Company the sum of £1,000,000 to save the credit of the Directors, it was decided that Lord North should devise some plan by which the Company might in time repay the loan. The Company at that time had 17,000,000 of tea lying unsold in its warehouses. The Government imposed a duty of 25 per cent. on exports of tea to assist the Company in selling this tea. The duty was remitted, and in its place a tax of 10 per cent. exacted on its sale in America. The tea was thrown into Boston Harbour and

France had declared war against England. Now it was France to be dreaded in the Eastern sea. The armies of the Maráthás were threatening Bengal, and the Nizám and Haidar Ali were preparing to crush the English in the Deccan and in the south. Hastings had to be prepared to meet these dangers, and to find means for defraying all the expenditure and extraordinary outlay that would necessarily have to be incurred. As he wrote at the time, "If it is really true that the British troops and influence have suffered so severe a check in the Western world, it is more incumbent on those who are charged with the interest of Great Britain in the East to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national losses." Francis, "mistaking his own malevolence for public virtue" still opposed, still demanded explanation. He wrote long minutes in order to expose what he considered the weakness, dishonesty, or impolicy of Hastings' preparations for the coming struggle. Believing in a promise of neutrality held out to Francis, Hastings had allowed his friend Barwell to leave India, and now, to his astonishment, found the opposition of Francis more aggressive than ever. His slow wrath at last burst forth. In a letter to Francis he charged him with being guilty both



CHAIT SINGH.

In India Hastings was now unfortunately needed funds for the pressing purposes of the war. Chait Singh, Rájá of Benares, had been bound by treaty to the Company, undoubtedly bound in addition to his annual tribute of 22 lakhs of rupees to service and aid in case of war. The British Government when he should join in the general defence of the ruling power, so Hastings called on Chait Singh for a contribution of 5 lakhs of rupees for the war against common enemies. On the demand being made in the following year, Chait Singh strove to evade the demand by sending 2 lakhs of rupees to the Governor-General as a bribe to abstain from making demands. After some delay Hastings called on Chait Singh to pay up in full the amount of money into the public treasury and to supply a force of 2000 men for general defence. Chait Singh pleaded that he was unable to provide either troops or more money. Hastings imposed on him a fine of 10 lakhs of rupees for delay, and proceeded himself to collect the amount. The subsequent condemnation of Hastings by the House of Commons and the House of Lords was due to the amount of money inflicted by Hastings on Chait Singh.

every preceding as well as subsequent Hastings' conduct, throughout the whole.

It still remains one of the mysteries why Pitt should have thus sacrificed the malignity of his enemies. Pitt, when angry by the universal condemnation, rose and said, "I think the fine of a thousand pounds imposed by the Court on Cheyt Sing exorbitant. My noble friends think otherwise." Mr. Dempster, according to Wraxall, one of the most conscientious men who ever sat in the House, retorted, "Mr. Hastings has been the possessor of vast possessions in the East; and if he is to be punished for any act of his whole life, he must be as weak a man as to return to the country with a very limited fortune."

When Chait Singh would not pay the ransom, he was placed under arrest by Hastings and a detachment of sepoy were directed to guard him. The people of Benares rose in fanatic alarm. They swarmed with bands of armed men to the city for the release of their Rájá. They were unprovided with ammunition, were massacred. Reinforcements hurrying

elled : Chait Singh fled, carrying off his treasures, leaving behind a nephew who was installed as Ráájá, the tribute being raised by the addition of some 200,000.

Oudh had next to be forced to contribute to the general defence of peace and security against the threatened storm of anarchy.

From Oudh a sum of over one million sterling (or a half crores of rupees) was due to the Company for military and civil charges. When the Nawáb Wazír died, in 1775, he left treasures amounting to some two millions sterling, which were seized by his wife and mother, known to history as the Begams of Oudh, who also possessed lands yielding a yearly income of £50,000.

By an agreement between the new Nawáb Wazír, Asaf-ud-Daulá, and Hastings it was decided that the landed estates of the Begams should be resumed by the Nawáb in consequence of their undoubted participation in the insurrection at Benares, but that the revenues accruing from the estates should be continued to them for life. The debts due to the Company were to be paid from the treasures left by the deceased Nawáb Wazír. The residence of the Begams was surrounded by British troops, and the custodial

He, however, reported the circumstances to the Directors, asking if he might be allowed to have the money—a request to which the Directors declined to accede.

At this time the affairs of the Company were in a condition from which Hastings could not retrieve them. As he wrote, "I am aware that it is not understood as it ought to be, that the Company's existence has on many occasions been to the edge of perdition, and that it has been suspended by a thread so fine that a puff of chance might break, or the breath of a storm solve it: and instantaneous will be its dissolution shall happen. May God in His mercy prevent it."

Hastings had secured Bengal and Bombay, but in the Maráthás held sway, and in the south was threatening the south. At Poona, the Peshwá Ráo, commonly known as Rághuba, had been deposed by his nephew, the ruling Peshwá, and was seeking sovereignty for himself. His hopes were dashed to the ground when the widowed Peshwá was declared to have no heir, brother to the prince whom Hastings had removed from his path. Rághuba was driven from Poona, and fled to the English.

At Arras the Maráthás and English met for the first time in their long series of conflicts ; Colonel Keatinge winning the day but losing 222 of his men.

Bombay was, however, subordinated to Calcutta. Francis—who had not yet been removed from the path of Hastings—and his supporters directed that the war should be suspended, Bassein surrendered and 12 lakhs of rupees paid to the Maráthás to defray the expenses they had incurred. The truce could not last long. The Maráthás sought French aid and the Bombay Government again espoused the cause of Rághuba. Four thousand men and six hundred Europeans were despatched from Bombay under Colonels Egerton, Cockburn, and Camac to enforce the English alliance and Rághuba on the Poona regency, while Hastings sent an envoy to warn the Bhonsla ruler of Nágpur from joining the Western Maráthás. By slow marches the Bombay troops arrived within eighteen miles of Poona, where they were surrounded and obliged to retreat.

At Wargáon, an unconditional surrender was made, the English commanders agreeing to give back all the acquisitions and surrender two hostages for the carrying out of this disgraceful convention. The Bombay Government had framed their policy

nine battalions of native troops, comp
men, a body of sepoy cavalry from Oudh
he placéd them in charge of Colonel
English officers, and bade them march
accompanied by some 30,000 camp-fo
aid of the Bombay Government.

Colonel Leslie was soon replaced
officer, General Goddard, who, hearing
of Egerton, made his way to Surat,
Maráthá force at Poona. This marc
have been considered impossible, or, in
words, "astonishing and impracticable"
as he said, "has shown what the Briti
of effecting." The force marched on
took possession of its capital Ahmadá
falling unexpectedly on the Maráthá ca
rout.

Through Central India Captain Pop
directed to march towards Gwalior, a f
Rána of Gohad held by the Maráthás u
deemed so safe from assault that Sir
declared it would be little less than
advance to its attack. For two mon
watched the precipitous rock on wh
was built, devising means whereby he

CAPTURE OF GWALIOR.

wall of smooth rock, sixteen feet high, the steep ascent of forty yards was climbed, the sepoys were then drawn up a scarp, fifteen feet high by ropes let down by some soldiers, and joined by the rest rushed forward and captured the garrison, gaining possession of the place.

The fall of his stronghold dismayed the Maráthás for the first time taught the Maráthás that to found their fortunes on the break up of the Empire were futile, for a foe was in the field they could never hope to overcome. The Maráthás had in the west retreated through Sindhia, only to double back, on the 24th of March, fall on the Maráthás, utterly routed, slaying numbers, seizing thirteen guns, and all the enemy's elephants. Goddard's troops had, however, come from Poona down the Bore Ghát with nearly five hundred men, including eight officers, by an overwhelming force of Maráthás.

Sindhia was, however, anxious to avoid that he might stand forth as leader of a confederacy, assured of the goodwill of the British with whom he negotiated terms.

aside with a pension of 25,000 rup. The English influence was thus Hastings across the whole of India to Bombay, the general pacification in May, 1782, by the Treaty of Salbá

In the meantime Haidar Alí in the by the neglect of the Madras Govern him, according to an agreement of attacks of the Maráthás—had incre officered it with French and European fortune, waiting his time for revenge allies. On the outbreak of the war and England, Hastings seized not o settlements at Chandranagar and I also Mahé on the west coast. From Alí had drawn his supplies, from French officers who trained his troops soldiers who manned his artillery. further raised from the fact that M his territories, and he had vowed to sea any of the English who dared to with it or with his allies the French.

Collecting together a huge army of 2,800 cavalry, 4,000 armed retainers, a by the strongest artillery then in French and European officers, he

the English merchants saw in the sky reddened for miles around with fire from burning villages and their own force of 3,700 men, marching down a river from Guntur under Colonel Baillie, were at Perambákam and slaughtered, only 300 soldiers escaping to meet with a worse fate. The dungeons of the implacable Mysore and the chains and misery they fretted out to the mother of Sir David Baird, remembering of her captive son, is famed for having Spartan simplicity, on hearing of his death was sorry for the man who was called Davie."

Sir Hector Munro, the hero of Buxar, on hearing of the defeat, marched out with five thousand troops, had to throw away a tank and find safety in flight back to George. Lieutenant Flint, emulating Clive at Arcot, held the fort of Wandiwash with three hundred sepoy against the victor Haidar Ali.

Not only had Hastings extricated the Government from its difficulties with the north but now in the south he had to upbraid the Madras authorities by sending men and money to Bengal. Just as in 1780 he had despatched Gaddard at the head of an army to fight

he could trust, the veteran Comm Coote who had succeeded General Council.

Flint was relieved at Wandewash landed at Pondicherry by the Fre the use of Haidar Alí were destroyed

Coote then moved with his small dalore, where he was hemmed in between the overwhelming army and the ships of the French. Alí prayed the French to stand by annihilating blow at the outwitted mander; the admiral, Count d'Orv losing his final chance of establishing of France in South India. Amid the Porto Novo, Coote won his glorious Mysore troops, of whom upwards were slain.

By August, 1781, Coote was joined from the north, under Colonel Pears suffered terribly from cholera on their the coast districts. At Pollilúr, ne Colonel Baillie's defeat, Haidar defeated, driven from the pass of obliged to raise the siege of Vellore.

one of the English officers from the fierce slaughter of the Mysore soldiers.

On the 8th of April of the same year Bussy landed at Porto Novo with 1,200 new French troops, seized Cuddalore and there entrenched himself, giving the veteran Coote an opportunity of fighting his last fight against Haidar Ali and Tipu, who were driven back from their chief arsenal in the plain to the fort of Arni.

The end was, however, at hand. On the 7th of December, 1782, the fierce and brave Haidar Ali died, in his last words praying his son Tipu to make peace with the English, whose power neither the defeat of Baillie nor of Braithwaite could lessen. Coote had repaired to Calcutta to recruit his health, and on his return the ship in which he sailed was chased by four French frigates. Weakened by fatigue and anxiety the brave old general was paralysed as he watched the chase, and died two days after he reached Madras.

On the seas duel after duel had taken place between the French Admiral Suffren, and the English Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. In one of the engagements the French had twelve ships and the English but nine, in another the English had

the war, and when the news of the Peace of Versailles reached him in September, 1783, it was with a sigh of relief that he exclaimed, "God be praised for the peace ! for it was clear that in India, though we had the means to impose the law, we should have been lost."

On the shore the French, under Bussy, were entrenched at Cuddalore, where the English had landed heavily and were in want of provisions. On the 1st of July the welcome flag of truce was hung out by the French, announcing the Peace and proclaiming that they could no longer fight for Tipú against the English.

Tipú had been winning back the territories of the Marathas on the west coast ; he had captured Mangalore, gallantly held for nine months by Captain Campbell, and sent the English officers and men in chains to Seringapatam, deporting some thirty thousand of the inhabitants of Kanara and Malabar to Mysore, where they were forcibly made Muhammadans.

Colonel Fullerton had, however, approached with an overwhelming force within reach of Seringapatam when Lord Macartney directed all hostilities to

The work of Hastings was accomplished. Bombay was saved, the Maráthás held in check, Sind reconciled, the Nizám made an ally, and the Madras Government supported in its weakness. He said before the House of Commons, in proof of the wisdom of its censures, "I enlarged and gave shade and consistency to the dominion you held there; I preserved it; I sent forth its armies with an effectual and economical hand, through unknown and hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions; I rescued the one from degradation and dishonour, and the other from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, not that of others, not of mine." And this at a time when all from whom he might have expected some measure of support, sedulously laboured to weaken my authority, to destroy my influence and to embarrass all my measures." Yet in 1782 the directors had resolved to recall him, alleging that he had acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India and enormous expenses on the company," a resolution with which, however, the proprietors refused to agree.

After the general pacification, Hastings waited for

new India Bill, curtailing the power of the Governor-General, and vesting the entire civil and revenue affairs of the Company in the hands of commissioners appointed by the Crown.

The sad story yet remains to be told of how Hastings was sacrificed to the malignity of Fox, whose self-seeking intrigues and narrow views he had so sternly repressed and so nobly maintained. It remains to be told by some writer of the accuracy of to-day, yet with all the power of a Macaulay, how unjustly he suffered, how fervid eloquence of Burke and melodramatic declamation of Sheridan, how nobly he bore the dreary years of criminal trial before an incompetent jury which perfunctorily pronounced him guilty of the charges conjured up against him by his enemies.

His life, his heroism, his proud reserve, his assurance that all his failings and faults were for a single-minded desire to carry out the duty of his time, are summed up in the words which he declared his own vindication and his own condemnation: "I gave you all; and you have repaid me with confiscation, disgrace and a cruel death."



VII.

LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR J.

IN 1782 Lord Cornwallis, then a man on parole, after the capitulation of Fort Mifflin at Washington, was asked by Lord Shelburne to proceed to India as Governor-General. Cornwallis curtly refused, for, as he said, "I do not know why he should run the risk of being disgraced for all eternity" in efforts "to fight Napoleon for his own Council, and the Supreme Government, if it may be."

When the India Bill of Pitt placed the administration in the hands of the Governor-General and his Councilors, and a subsequent Act gave the Governor-General authority to act in cases of emergency without the concurrence, or even in cases of

to pursue schemes of Conquest and Dominion in India, are measures of Wish, the Honour, and the Policy of it shall not be lawful for the Governor and Council of Fort William, without the command and authority of the said Company or of the Secret Committee of the Directors, in any case, except where actually been commenced or prepared for the commencement of hostilities, against any Nation in India, or against some of the States dependent thereon, or where the said united Company shall be at war by any subsisting Treaty to defend either to declare War or commence War, or enter into any Treaty for making War with the Country Princes or States in India.

This Act had but little effect in staying the extension of the Company. By the Treaty of Mangalore, the Raja had become an ally of the English. His being attacked, in 1790, by Tipu Cornwallis considered that the treaty justified him in declaring war against the enemy, the Mysore ruler.



the fort of Vellore. Bangalore, whereon Tipú put to death whom he still held captive, was the result of the treaty of 1784. Cornwallis, now with his allies, hurried on to Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. There his supplies were cut off, his communications being cut off, and he was forced to destroy his siege trains, throw away his arms, and retreat to Bangalore. General Cornwallis, advancing from the Malabar coast, was met by his guns at the top of the mountain. He saved his contingent by retreating, and his fortune had favoured Tipú, but Cornwallis captured the important fort of Srirangapatna, situated thirty miles from Bangalore. It was situated on a steep fortified hill, 5,000 feet above the sea level. The equally important fort of Srirangapatna was 100 feet above the sea level, next to the river.

The united forces of the British and the allies then laid siege to Seringapatam. The British were occupying themselves in the meantime in raiding the Mysore dominions to the north-east. Hemmed in on all sides, Tipú was forced to capitulate, agree to surrender, and the kingdom to be divided among the allies.

the land revenue in the Company's assumed by the Government, in 1764 retained that the ráyats, or cultivators, habit of paying a fixed share of the produce in grain or in money value, to local landlords, the Zamíndárs. Under the rule of the British Zamíndárs paid the Emperor nine-tenths of what they received, retaining one-tenth for themselves, being obliged to render true accounts of their receipts. They possessed the power of levying fines, and could transfer their title by gift or sale. They had their right to collect the revenue purchased by the on payment of a fine or present. In all cases where it was deemed expedient to remove aside the Zamíndár he received a pension or a way of compensation for the loss of his office.

Hastings, on undertaking the management of the leased out the right to collect the revenue for terms of five and ten years to the highest bidder, or others who bid for the office. He abolished the Company's writers collectors of the revenue share, and placed controlling officers over them, while local Revenue Councils were locally formed for the chief centres, Murshidábád and Patná. Finally

selves to an English Parliament anxious to secure the rights of the Zamíndárs, which the British regarded as similar to those of British landlords. In 1784, by 24 Geo. cap. 25, it was enacted that whereas "divers Rájahs, Zamíndárs, Talookdárs, and other native landholders in British territories in India, have been or may be deprived of, or compelled to abandon, all or part of their respective Lands, Jurisdiction, and Privileges," the Court of Directors was directed to take measures, for "establishing, upon a basis of Moderation and Justice, the permanent settlement of which their respective Tributes, Rents, and Taxes shall be in future rendered and paid to the United Company by the said Rájahs, Zamíndárs, Talookdárs, and other native landholders."

The Court of Directors in their Resolution of the 12th of April, 1786, went no further than to recommend that a ten years' settlement should be made with the local Zamíndárs.

Lord Cornwallis, with the assistance of Mr. John Shore, a Bengal civilian, afterwards Secretary to the Government, studied closely, from 1786 to 1793, the question of land revenue in Bengal. His final preliminary ten years' settlement was made with the Zamíndárs, the amount to be paid by

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT.

proved cultivation and from new lands being brought under tillage, as well as from advances in price of produce due to improved means of communication and other causes, the State was for ever debarred from participating in the gain from this increasing earned increment. On the other hand, only such cultivators as could prove an hereditary right wanted the security of holding at a fixed rent. While the Zamíndárs were empowered to raise the customary rates paid by others by means of a cess on it. The loss to the State can be estimated from the fact that at present, while the Zamíndárs pay a revenue of but three and a quarter millions, the annual rental is upwards of thirteen millions sterling. The immediate result to the Zamíndárs was disastrous, for, possessing insufficient powers to recover the rent from the cultivators, they were unable to pay the State demands, and their rights to collect the revenue were sold wholesale in order that the amounts they had guaranteed might be realised. In short, matter of fact, in a very short space of time the former hereditary right to collect the land revenue was sold away from the ancient Zamíndárs into the hands of new leaseholders.

The tenants suffered more than all. Those who

main faults of the system continue to By this Act cultivators holding land s to possess their tenements without having power to raise the rental ; holding land for twenty years were to have held since 1793, unless the prove the contrary ; while all tho less than twelve years were left to respecting their rental as best they Zamíndárs. This last class of tenants for less than twelve years—were, Tenancy Act of 1885, allowed to claim for improvements they had made in th well as for loss by disturbance in obliged to relinquish their lands in excessive advancement of rent.

This first essay of the British in making of land-laws, cannot be held particularly successful. It has excluded from participating in the ever-i perity accruing from peace and the dev chief source of wealth of the country. produce ; it has not secured to the c full share of these benefits, where and prosperous community might ha

EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS OF THE COMPANY.

system in force in the Company's dominions. In each district, or chief city, Civil Courts were established, presided over by one of the Company's senior writers, assisted by a junior writer and a registrar. Four Appellate or Provincial Courts were established in Calcutta, Patná, Dacca, and Miratidábád, presided over by three judges and two senior European assistants, learned Hindú and Muhammadan lawyers being attached to expound the native law. From these local courts appeals were heard by the Sadr Diwání Adálat, or President's Court, presided over by a Chief Justice and Puisne Judges. For the administration of criminal justice the judges of the Provincial Courts went on periodic circuits of jail delivery, appeals being allowed to the central Appellate Court, or Nizámat Adálat, presided over by three judges, assisted by natives who expounded the Hindú and Muhammadan law.

For these labours Lord Cornwallis was allotted, on his retirement from India in 1793, a pension of £5,000 a year, and the Directors ordered that a statue should be placed in the India House, so that his great services might ever be held in remembrance."

In the same year the exclusive trading rights

of Haidarabad met with aid from the Maráthás on the fatal result the Nizám once more French troops whom he placed of the famed Raymond, with the colours of the French Republic liberty on their regimental but

In Oudh the reigning Nawab new claimant, Saádut Alí, was a subsidy to the Company was and a special donation of land claimed, notwithstanding that before, the Nawáb Wazír had had regiments of cavalry instead of previously obliged to retain.

All these events were but passing changes that took place during the Great Proconsul, the Marquis succeeded Sir John Shore and ruled until 1805.



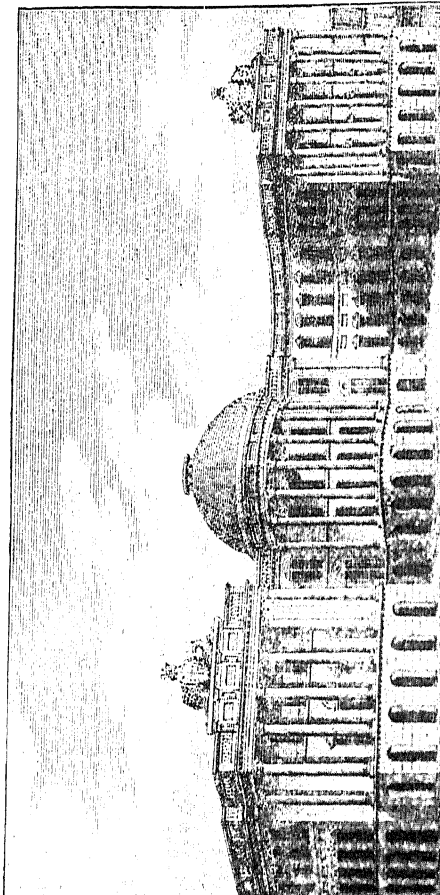


VIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH SUPREMACY— MARQUESS WELLESLEY.

(1798—1805.)

WITH the advent of Lord Mornington—or, as better known, the Marquess Wellesley—the colour of the iron hand of the British rule was first seen for the first time by the native princes who still held sway in the land of their forefathers surrounded by the glamour and pomp of an Oriental despotism. The insanely vaunting Sultán of Mysore, the proud Nizám of Haidarábád, the puppet Nawáb Wazír of Berhár, the fierce Maráthá chiefs of Sindhia, Holkar, and the Peshwá, the Gáekwár, and the Peshwá, were one and all forced to bow their heads before the imperious



TIPÚ SULTÁN.

laid by Clive and secured by Hastings, the structure of British supremacy over all powers in India was now to be built. Governor-General, assured of the support of the war ministry at home, and certain of the favour of Pitt, was able, without fear of impeachment, to carry out his policy of making every ruling prince subordinate to, and dependent on, the crown of British Power. This policy he carried out energetically and consistently, notwithstanding the remonstrances and rebukes he received from the Court of Directors, all of which he treated with concealed contempt. "No additional outrage or insult," he wrote, "which can issue from the loathsome den of the India House will deter me from my departure when the public safety shall require my aid."

The first to fall beneath the heavy hand of the new Governor-General was Tipú Sultán, ruler of Mysore. Lord Mornington landed at Madras on the 17th of May, and on the 8th of June issued a paper the contents of which sealed the fate of the ruler of Mysore. It was a proclamation of the French Governor of Mauritius, or Isle de France, announcing that ambassadors had been re-

power of Tipú and make the natives their French soldiers and dismiss them. In order to carry out his policy the Company had many difficulties to overcome. The Madras Government, dreading to rock the boat by making any effort to prepare for war, reported that it would be fully satisfied if they could equip an army and place it in the field while the new Nawáb of the Karnát was refused aid but opened up a treasonable correspondence with Tipú.

At Haidarábád the forces of the Nizám consisted of fourteen thousand mutinous troops, commanded by French officers, who held lands as a reward for their pay. Captain, afterwards Sir John, Munro, persuaded the Nizám to enter into a secret agreement by which these French troops were to be replaced by twelve thousand sepoy and artillery companies, commanded by British officers, paid for by a subsidy of £100,000 per annum. The French officers were then forced to leave the country and were ultimately sent home to France. The territories of the Nizám remained safe under the protection of the Company, and the Haidarábád Force, raised to twelve thousand in 1797, had been maintained by the Nizám who

MYSORE WAR.

who was vainly seeking aid from the
Turkey, the Afgháns, and Maráthás, re-
the letters of the Governor-General by
flippant answers until war was forma
against him on the 22nd of February,

Assisted by his brother, Colonel Arthur
afterwards Duke of Wellington, who ha
India in 1796, and loyally supported by
the Governor of Madras and son of th
Plassey, the Governor-General gathered
the south an army, under General H
equipped, disciplined, and supplied tha
that had yet taken the field in India.

From Madras General Harris, with the
and a contingent from the Nizám,
Seringapatam. General Stewart, with
6,400 men, marched from Bombay throu
districts, and after an obstinate fight c
drove back Tipú's army of 12,000 troop
losses from the Siddeshwár Pass.

The news of the victory was conv
Governor-General by the friendly Rájá
the following words: "A severe action
which I was present . . . the discipl
strength, and magnanimity of the

the main army, now slowly advancing at the rate of less than six miles a day, he met with a terrible reverse, slaying upwards of 1,000 of his men in the field. Tipú retreated to Seringapatam, which he and his officers died together defending.

The siege commenced on the 1st of April, the opening operations being memorable for the gallantry sustained by the "Iron Duke" in the assault on the *tánpet*. This grove, cut up by waterworks and trenches, was held by an advanced position of outposts securely entrenched. To dislodge them from their position Colonel Arthur Wellesley, on the night of the 5th of April, at the head of the 94th regiment, the 33rd. As they drew near the fort, in the darkness, they were suddenly assailed by a fire of musketry and rockets. They were thrown into confusion, and many of the British soldiers whereon the rest broke and retreated. One of the British soldiers receiving a wound in the knee from a musket ball. The next morning he advanced again, and with the 94th Regiment, two battalions of the 1st and five guns drove the enemy from the fort.

By the 4th of May the fort of Se

CAPTURE OF SERINGAPAT

terrible sufferings he and his fellow
undergone. At ten minutes past one
afternoon the signal to advance was
attacking party of 2,494 European
sepoys waited breathless, in the
General Baird rose up and, waving
out, "Now, my brave fellows! follow
yourselves worthy of the name of
Amid a shower of bullets which sw
the troops dashed across the interv
within seven minutes from the time
trenches the British flag was planted
of the breach. Beyond lay a deep
crossed. The inner ramparts were
the soldiery of Mysore, in the midst
Tipú, dressed in a light-coloured jack
of flowered chintz, a dark red silk sa
turban, firing at his advancing foes fr
and handed to him by his attendan
being wounded, he mounted his ho
voured to make his way towards his
the crowd of retreating soldiers. A
narrow gateway leading from the
he received a second wound and a
horse was shot dead, and he fell

The body, borne by his person, escorted by a guard of Europeans through the thronged streets of the town, were gathered together the sorrow of the town. By the side of his father was laid to rest in the Mausoleum, the chief Kázi came forward to perform the rites, and alms were given to the poor who crowded round. He stood by his grave bewailing the death of the dreaded chieftain a wild storm of thunder rolled and the lightning flashed over the town and in the camp were many dead—an event held by the natives as a sign that the independent rule of their country was away and the rule of the English was near.

Seringapatam and all the passes of the plains, as well as the entire districts of Koimbatour and the districts of Mujnad on the south and east, were given to the troops, and to the Nizám, the districts of his territories were allotted.

The descendant of the last Hindu ruler was an infant of five years, Krishna Ráo, who was raised to the lowly position into which his

ODDH.

native rule was restored in the person of the adopted son, Cháma Rájendra Wodigar, an untitled prince who ruled the destinies of the people up to his death in 1894.

To Lord Mornington the Company allotted a sum of £5,000 for twenty years. By the Company was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in India and to his ill-concealed annoyance he was further honoured by being raised one step in the peerage, so that henceforth he became the Marquis of Wellesley instead of Lord Mornington.

One result of the war was the removal of the Nájib of the Karnátik from the civil and military control of his dominions on account of the unreasonable correspondence he had carried on with the British, full evidence of which was discovered in the archives of Seringapatam. His revenues were placed under British control, one-fifth allotted for his pension, and the remainder set aside to pay his private debts and those due to the Company. Mysore was also taken under the administration of the Company on the 26th of November, 1799, on the occasion of the installation of Sarbojít, a son of the Rájá.

Madras had next to be dealt with : by a treaty

and to ward off attacks likely of a threatened invasion of Afghánistán by Zemán Sháh. Nawáb Wazír was called on these troops. In vain he pleaded even for the troops already engaged in treaty with Sir John Shore. His inability to pay the advances of European traders and adventurers in his domain for money at exorbitant rates for more pressing necessities. Still the pay of the extra troops he could not ship, leave his own country. The Marquess of Wellesley was with. The Nawáb Wazír and European moneylenders were at Oudh, but that if he resigned his territories would be annexed it was impossible to hand over the eldest, or any of the sons. Governor-General wrote : "It could be entertained that the princes would be competent to those evils which his Exce-

TREATY OF LUCKNOW.

s dominions by the Company, the whole of the fertile lands lying between the Ganges and Jumna, known as the Doáb, as well as Rohilkhand and the district of Gorakhpur. For the administration of these new acquisitions the ablest of the revenue and judicial officers in the Company's service were formed into a Board, presided over by the Hon. Mr. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, "to whose discretion, address, and firmness," as the Governor-General wrote the Directors, they were "principally indebted for the early and tranquil settlement of these extensive and fertile territories."

The answer of the Directors was characteristic. First they resented the patronage of a lucrative appointment being taken out of their hands, and directed "that Mr. Wellesley be forthwith removed from an order which was not carried out by the Board without their control. They then voted that the new acquisitions of the Company had been wrested from the Nawab Azír "violently and compulsorily," that his consent had been extorted and that the treaty was in direct violation of existing treaties.

The Governor-General was, however, too busy endeavouring to frustrate the efforts of the Maráthas to found sovereignties for themselves on the

the Maráthá chieftains by driving troops and the Peshwá, Bájí Ráo, f installing there his own nominee. I the protection of the English, and December, 1802, entered into the Su of Bassein, which virtually placed t the head of the Maráthá Confederacy acknowledged over-lord among the M to abide by the advice of the Govern things, to cede territories yielding lakhs of rupees yearly for the pay British force for the protection of his to dismiss his own French and foreign in England and in India the treaty attacked by those who held that it result in war. By others it was held was absolutely necessary—even if fo to check the growing power of the M influence of their French commander of General Count de Boigne. Wa delayed, but when it broke out the M their chief strength. In former Maráthás, mounted on their swift por swarm of locusts down from their mo the fertile plains devastated the villa

s were exhausted for want of provisions and obliged to retire, when they could again sally forth to support the harassed troops, and wage a guerilla warfare, in the tactics of which they had no rivals. Seeing the success of the Company's discipline among the antry sepoy, they deemed that if they submitted



DE BOIGNE.

(From Compton's "Military Adventures of Hindustan"—
T. Fisher Unwin.)

lions he raised and drilled became invincible. Yet no one knew but the inherent weakness of the system in founding. His constant advice was that it would be better to disband the battalions rather than venture to the field to face the Company's troops.

When the inevitable fight did come, he found that the system De Bussy had thought, as he foretold, it did not make a contemptible one. After the battle of the Maráthás had to fight with the French officers, General Lake wrote to General Arthur Wellesley, with reference to the enemy behaved exceedingly well. It had been commanded by French officers. I fear, have been extremely defective. The faults of the new system were evident. The officers in the pay of the native princes had no authority nor the power over the troops and often mutinous levies that were not the Company's officers over their well-disciplined ally recruited sepoys. Further, when the French officers were scattered, the loss was complete.

for Maráthá freedom. The Bhonsla hurried up his allies, but Holkar held sullenly aloof, waiting to see how events would develop. The united armies of Sindhia and the Bhonsla amounted to some 100,000 men, well drilled, and supported by hundreds of cannon; General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson had an army of 15,000 men ready to march at a moment's notice; while in the north General Lake had 10,000 men, and in Gujarát General Murray commanded 7,000 more troops.

A demand made by General Wellesley that Sindhia should withdraw his troops within his own territory was ignored, whereon war was declared on the 3rd of August, 1803. The campaign was opened by Wellesley, who in four days captured the fortress of Ahmednagar, and on the 23rd of September, at the head of 5,000 men, came up with the combined armies of Sindhia and the Bhonsla numbering 50,000 men, 20,000 being cavalry, with 100 guns, at the famous field of Assaye. When Wellesley saw the vast army stretched out before him he determined to attack at once without waiting for the arrival of the remainder of his forces under Colonel Stevenson. The British infantry advanced a withering fire from the enemy's guns held them back until 360 men of the 19th

ninety-eight guns were left behind, the ridden off at the first signs of reverse. of Assaye, the most daring and brilliant against the Maráthás, General Arthur over one-third of his force in killed and

The fort of Alígarh was taken by who defeated Sindhia's troops under commander Perron, Delhi was then afterwards Agra with its treasures, a pieces of cannon.

At the crowning victory of Lasv three regiments of dragoons and five native cavalry charged again and Sindhia's invincible battalions who their ground, "the fellows" as Lake like devils or rather heroes. Pray G be in such a situation again." It w British infantry came up and charged that the field was won. Fourteen battalions were destroyed, and 7,000 the total strength of 9,000 picked slain, while the English loss was only and wounded.

On the east coast Colonel Harc forces from Nágnur out of Orissa, a

ned, by which the Bhonsla of Berar agreed to commit in future all his war disputes to the arbitration of the Governor-General, to dismiss his French and American officers, to cede Cuttack to the Company, and other lands to the Nizám, over whose villages he had ever relinquished claim to exact "chauth." After his chief strongholds destroyed, and his chief strongholds captured, signed the Treaty of Pargi Arjangáon on the 30th of December, by which he yielded not only his rich lands lying between the Rájpootá and Jumna, but all those north of the Rájpootá, and the states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Gohad, renounced his claims on the Emperor, on the Nizám, and on the Peshwá, delivered up Ahmadnagar to the Peshwá, and, to complete his humiliation, agreed to employ no more French or American officers in his armies. A storm of controversy, congratulation, and condemnation arose in England and in India over these rapid wars and bewildering treaties, but among all the Governor-General proudly stood unmoved, complacently surveying the vast territories across which he had advanced the British rule.

Of the Maráthá rulers Jeswant Ráo Holkar alone remained independent. Raging with fury at the successes of the Governor-General, he hurried from Málwá, calling on the Rájpoota Rohillas

saw that his best policy was to
and retreat before the slow-
until they were worn out and d
then harass their outposts, and

On the advance of Gener
Monson he fell back, and all
his stronghold of Rámpura. C
rains Lake was compelled to r
leaving to Monson the seem
following up the retreating ar
lions of sepoy and four tho
Monson pursued Holkar thro
Pass, across the Chambal Ri
him no stock of provisions, and
to secure his communications
channels and watercourses he
supplies soon failed, the rain
roads became mud tracks t
well-nigh impossible to drag th
with camp-followers and the
the sepoy, who always accom
the march. In the rear the riv
to be unfordable, and no bo
and left in readiness in case
were dispirited, and it was i

RETREAT OF MONSON.

ing troops, in want of food, wet by the incessant rain, marched wearily through heavy mud, pausing only to fire on the cavalry, who swept down every now and then to slay belated stragglers or to cut up the baggage-guarding the baggage. The guns, sunk in mud, had to be spiked and left behind, the ammunition destroyed. The deep rivers were crossed on elephants or rafts, or else the army waited until some ford was discovered. The British cavalry daily grew bolder, while from the surrounding mountains the savage Bhíls came down to plunder and slay the wounded and the stragglers to the very eyes of the sepoy the unpunished and children. Many of Monson's British and irregular cavalry sought safety in flight, the remainder, their last gun left behind, halting now and then for a few hours' rest, hungry, and dazed from want of sleep, the band at last formed themselves into a column where they were mowed down in hundreds by Maráthá guns. The remnant in flight, who escaped were cut down by Holkar's troops. A few of the sepoy escaping to Agra, and afterwards abroad the news of the retreat of Monson, and the glorious victory of Holkar, a story

Arthur Wellesley, surveying the the reckless advance without supplies in a country where no efforts had been made to open communications, summed up his situation by rejoining: "In my mind . . . the British have been lost, even if Holkar had not driven them with his infantry and artillery."

Holkar had but a short-lived success. Along with his ally the Rájá of Nagpur, he was driven before Delhi by Lord Lake, he fled, burning the Company's villages. He was driven by General Frazer, and was wounded along with twenty-two of his officers. 623 of his men, leaving to Lord Lake the citadel and final defeat of Holkar, he fled to the Punjáb, where he was forced to sign a treaty.

Before the impregnable fortress of Asseerghur he lost three thousand of his men in fruitless efforts to reduce it, and was finally driven off on an assurance from its Rájá that he would renounce Holkar and pay 20 lakhs of rupees towards the war.

The London merchants, who feared

the Maráthás, but had cautiously reserved to themselves the right of fully inquiring into, and expressing their mature judgment on, the justice and policy of entering on the war. They, however, showed their personal resentment at his conduct by ordering the abolition of a college he had founded at Calcutta for the training of junior civil servants, a scheme afterwards carried out in its intent by the establishment in 1805, of the East India College at Haileybury. Above all things the Directors were alarmed at the state of the finances. The Company's debt at home and in India had risen from £17,059,192 in 1797 to £31,638,827 in 1806, while their expenses and interest on debt amounted to £17,672,017, with a revenue of £15,403,409.

With relief they heard of the defeat of Monsie and gladly seized what they had long sought, the opportunity of recalling a Governor-General whom they feared, and of whose power they were jealous. The services rendered them by the Marquess Wellesley could not be overlooked, so in 1841 it was agreed to erect a statue to him as a "permanent mark of the admiration and gratitude of the East India Company."

Lord Cornwallis, who came out a second time to India to succeed the Marquess Wellesley, died shortly

There the family of Tipú had been permitted to live in semi-independence under a more or less strict surveillance by 370 European troops and 1,500 sepoys in the command of Colonel Fancourt.

In the south it had been considered in order to produce an appearance of uniformity among the Company's troops, that all should dress alike, shave their beards, cut their hair, bear no caste marks, and wear a uniform instead of their usual turbans. The sepoys, suspicious by nature, saw in these new regulations a deep underlying purpose—some insinuation against their religion, or an attempt to break down the hereditary customs of caste, so that the soldiers might grow to be all of one race, severed for ever from their kinsmen and of their forefathers. The rumours of these warnings that secret meetings were held at night-time among the sepoys were taken up by European officers with disbelief, or

At dawn on the 10th of July, the feelings of the sepoys burst forth. Colonel Fancourt was shot down from the top of his own house in the fort, volleys of fire being directed into the breach and the

trenched themselves in one of the bastions, where they waited for help. On the news reaching Arcot, nine miles distant, Colonel Gillespie galloped to the rescue at the head of his dragoons and native cavalry, followed close by his guns. Reaching Vellore, he was drawn up to the ramparts of the fort by the defenders. The gates were opened for his cavalry, who charged and cut down from 300 to 400 of the mutineers, the rest of whom were captured, and, after trial by court-martial, shot or punished according to the guilt, the number of the regiment being erased from the Army List.

Lord Minto, who succeeded Sir George Barlow, landed at Calcutta in 1807.

Pledged though the new Governor-General was to a policy of retrenchment and non-interference with the independent or semi-independent states, he soon found that the time had not yet come when the sword might be sheathed and the lands of the Company rendered safe from invasion or internal disturbances.

Beyond the Company's territories lay the lands of the warlike Sikhs in the Punjáb, ruled over by Ranjit Singh, the Lion of Lahore. Beyond were the unknown mountains and valleys of Afghánistán, where Sháh Shujá reigned, and further still lay Persia.

all things it was therefore deemed that Lord Minto should, if possible, gain the friendship of the Ruler of the Punjáb, the Amir of Persia, and the Sháh of Persia, so that the Company's interests might be safeguarded in case of an invasion from the West.

Although this threatened danger was averted when Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808, and when he began his war against Russia in 1812, still, in the year 1819, the Governor-General had sent envoys to enter into friendly negotiations with the Ruler of the Punjáb. Metcalfe to Lahore, Elphinstone to Calcutta, Malcolm to Teheran. Though no great benefit resulted from these negotiations, yet Ranjít Singh renounced all claims on the Company's side, and thus formed the connecting link between the British and the times of Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley. To-day, when it is considered nearly impossible to obtain almost all the available resources of the British Empire for the defence of the frontier defences, and maintaining the frontier defences, and maintaining the frontier defences enough to withstand any possible invasion, it is not too much to say that the British Empire whose conquering career towards the East commenced some seventy years ago.

Though Lord Minto captured the Ruler of the Punjáb, and Lord Abercromby freed the East from the

LORD MINTO.

of £10,000,000 over investments, of which £2,000,000 was sent home in bullion. As a result of this increasing prosperity the Directors were enabled to convert their debt of £27,000,000 from a loan at 12 per cent. to a new one at 6 per cent., saving by the conversion an annual payment of £592,000.





IX.

MARQUESS OF HASTINGS (1814— SION OF INFLUENCE OVER NÁ

By a cynical fate Lord Moira, who i
consistently denounced what he cal
whereby British rule had been esta
and had vehemently opposed the c
Wellesley, was forced, when he
Governor-General, to continue the
had so strenuously condemned, in
peace and prosperity out of the chaos
which the land had drifted since th
firm hand of the Great Proconsul.
fact, saw that by the sword alone cou
Maráthá and marauding free lances

tures meted out to unoffending them disclose their wealth or from with senses stayed the bodies of and lisping children done to death or slaughtered to satiate the savagery of bands of roaming robbers, must long as the British rule holds sword may never be hidden till the passions of man have learned to bow to the dictates of a civilised government.

Nine years of timid evasion of ruling the territories handed over by Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley plunged the whole centre of India into chronic civil war. Robber bands from Pindáris, Ghúrkas from Nepál, and from beyond the frontiers raided the villages, and even expropriated from those in British territories. Fifty thousand in number, rode out in safe retreats in the valleys of the Ghát, plunder amid the villages of Rájpootana, east across the sacred lands of the Indus, deep flowing waters of the Kistna, and they looted and burned all they could reach.

submit to the wanton insults of their relentless foes.

Through Central India the armies of Sindhia and Holkar ransacked the land for miles on either side until the inhabitants, bereft of all, were driven to follow the camp, and to buy their children so that they might live. Not a single ray of heroism, or vulgar bravery illuminates the annals recording the progress of the conquest. Soldiers, when unpaid, lived by plunder; squandered their time in debaucheries; a civilised government was too weak enough to enforce law and order; the land was saved the land and the people from the burden and miseries untold.

Nepál, the hill country stretching for miles along the southern slopes of the north of Oudh and Rohilka, was the Ghúrkas, a race of Rájput descent, their sovereignty over the aboriginal land—first bid open defiance to British rule. Shut in from the lowlands by a feverish and almost impenetrable

units or else accept the alternative of war, the brave and hardy mountaineers haughtily replied that the soldiers of the Company had already failed to take the lowland fortress of Bhartpur—"how, then, was it likely that they should storm the mountain fastness constructed by the hand of God?"

Though the Ghúrkas numbered but 12,000 fighting men, yet their prowess was so renowned that the Governor-General deemed it necessary to despatch 10,000 men and 64 guns in four divisions to reduce them to submission. Against their stronghold of Alangá, or Nalápáni, an open enclosure surrounded with stone walls, General Gillespie, the suppressor of the Mutiny of Vellore, advanced with 1,000 Europeans, 500 sepoy, and 11 guns. The fort was gallantly defended by 600 Ghúrkas, who repeatedly drove back their assailants, the brave General Gillespie falling through the heart. The garrison held out, and not till there were but 70 survivors left did the fort surrender, its defence having delayed the expedition for over a month.

From the west a detachment under General Buchterlony dragged their guns up the mountain sides, over almost inaccessible paths covered with snow, secured each pass and occupied post after

cesses, at the head of twenty thousand three European regiments, to tame the who knew not what it was to be an expedition started in February, 1818, a series of swift and brilliant operations were obliged to recognise the full resistance.

By the Treaty of Segaulí the Company's possession of the hill stations of Simla, Náini Tál, and the limits of the C. were marked out by stone pillars, so that the might rest side by side in peace without encroachments. Since the Treaty the brave little Ghúrkas have enlisted in forming some of its finest fighting have followed the fortunes of the the Crown in many a battlefield, and many a heroic defence.

Far different from the hardy hill fierce Maráthás and robber Pindáris to be reclaimed from their predatory their leaders, Kárim, Chítu, and W the Pindáris raided the lands of K Nizám, and of the Company, despoiled and tortured with horrible refinement the unarmed and unresisting

Rájputána contribution and tribute. For long the Governor-General pleaded with his Council and with the Directors for permission to put an end to the horrors perpetrated by these robber bands. Weakly he lamented that he feared the indifference of the Company arose from the fact that he had "been helpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home the brutal and atrocious qualities of the wretches."

At length, in 1816, the long-delayed permission came. That there should be no failure the large army up to then assembled in India under the Company's rule was drawn round the haunts of the Pindárís. From October, 1817, a force of 120,000 men and 300 guns closed in from Bengal on the north-east, from the Deccan on the south, and from Gujarát on the west. Amír Khán, seeing that all was lost, surrendered, and was allowed to retire to his principality, now known as Tonk.

The Pindárís vainly strove to escape in detachments through the steel fence that surrounded the camp. By the end of January, 1818, they were all captured, dispersed, or annihilated. Kárim surrendered, and was allotted lands in Gorakhpur whereon to live peaceably and recount to admiring hearers the glories of his former life.

The Maráthá armies still passed to and fro, increasing in strength, hoping that they might shake off the yoke of the foreigner. In Málwá Holkar, debauched and drunken, had become a raving mad from his excesses. In the person of Bájí, and one of her lovers, Amír Khán, the regency during the infancy of Málwá was in the late chieftain. To the east were the powerful Dáulat Ráo Sindhia, who was the Governor-General in his raids on Bhopál and Nágpur, now fretted over the Maráthas, watched with interest the brave re-assertion of the Ghúrkas, and extended his protection to them.

Bájí Ráo II., the Peshwá who reigned at Poona, was the acknowledged head of the Maráthá Confederacy. Dissolute, ambitious, and yet outwardly sanctimonious and pious, he waited but for the opportunity, with the aid of Holkar and Sindhia, of overthrowing the Gáekwár of Baroda, he would be able to repudiate his engagements with the British, and once again stand forth as hereditary ruler of the Maráthás. With the Gáekwár of Baroda the Peshwá found it impossible to open negotiations, for the English there held sway, the

Gangadhar Sástri to come to Poona to settle the standing accounts and the financial affairs of the states. The astute Bráhmaṇ minister, however, knew too well the mind and cunning of the Peshwá and refused to travel to Poona until the British Resident consented to guarantee his safety. The guarantee was given, and Gangadhar Sástri went to Poona, where he was feasted and honoured. Wealth and alliances promised him if he would agree to join in the coming war against the English. When it was found that the Bráhmaṇ would not turn traitor or receive the proffered bribes, the Peshwá determined that at least he should not be allowed to carry back the secrets he had learned to the ears of the English Resident at Aroda. The Peshwá had a low favourite, a Trimbakjī, willing, in order to gain his master's favour, to violate all the traditions and ordinances of his forefathers and commit the unpardonable sin of killing a Bráhmaṇ. On a day holy to the Hindús, Gangadhar Sástri was prayed by the Peshwá and by Trimbakjī to visit a famed temple at Pandharpur, and there offer up his prayers to the gods and present holy offerings to the temple priests. The pilgrimage was made, the religious rites performed.

of rupees, and to pay for new troops for his dominions. Still firm in his belief of his intrigues, and enraged at his defeat at that of his favourite, who had led an outlawed life—the Peshwá demanded the demands. With his wealth he tried to sedition among the soldiers of the British to gain them over to his side; he hid in his feudatories, hoping to hide from the vigilant eyes of the Company's capital. The Resident, Mountstuart, discerned danger when he saw the British gathering round his cantonments. He had time to remove the English garrison to three miles distant from Poona, and to Bombay, when the storm burst and European houses were first gathered and then the Peshwá's army of 8,000 foot swarmed out of Poona. A small Kirkí garrison who bravely tried to meet the advancing hosts. Between them lay a deep morass. Eight thousand horsemen charged down on the British, plunged into the deep mud, and rode over each other in their confusion.

DEFEAT OF THE PESHWÁ.

retreat south towards Poona. Colonel the head of 500 men, 300 irregular ho guns manned by twenty-four Europe once directed to march from Sirur to defence of the capital. This force, night's journey, suddenly found itself, morning, surrounded by the whole Mar the Peshwá, 20,000 horsemen and 8,00 of them fierce Arab mercenaries. At village of Koragáon, the shelter of who was gained by Staunton and his han but not before many of the Arabs ha best positions. Without sleep, without the defenders held out all day, repelled attack, and at times sallied out to me hurled against their slender defence. eight of the British officers were killed 271 of the devoted 800 were dead or towards night-time one of their guns Lieutenant Pattinson, a giant six feet in height, was lying on the ground v through the body; but on hearing the rushed forward, and with the butt o knocked over right and left the Ara the gun. Pattinson fell shot once ag

surrender. Deprived of his sovereignty and pension of £80,000 annually, with post at Bithúr, near Cawnpúr, his name in history, and his personal property, on his death, to his adopted son, Náná Saheb.

In Málwá, Tulsí Báí had placed the young Holkar under British protection, but he soon afterwards murdered by General Hislop and Sir John Malcolm. The British advanced against the mutinous army, and found, on the 21st of December, the Holkar posted on the far side of the S. of the Mehidpur.

Having crossed by a ford in the night, the British cavalry charged under the command of the Marquis of Hastings. In the fierce fight which ensued thirty British officers were wounded—three fatal. The Marquis lost a hundred of his troops lost; the Marquis of Málwá lost three thousand men, arms, and stores, while the remainder retreated in a disorderly flight.

Holkar was forced to accept a truce and alliance with the English, and to renounce all claims for tribute over the chiefs of the Marquis's estates in Málwá being restored to him.

still continued his preparations for war. As his affairs became so threatening that the Resident deemed it wise to move his army of ten thousand men to two peaks of the Western Ghats lying between Nágpur and the city.

Twenty thousand Maráthás and British mercenaries laid siege to the position. The British officer in driving a British guard from the city. Captain Fitzgerald was again to be allowed to charge, and three troops of Bengal cavalry, the Maráthás, now crowding round the plain at the base of the hill. The British officer, angered at the repeated refusal, sent back the answer, "Tell him at his peril." "At my peril be it," cried the British officer, gave the order to charge, with the British army. The enemy was put to rout and the British occupied the hill. When British reinforcements arrived, the assistance of the Resident was ordered, and consented to place all the territory under the control of the Company and the lands lying near the Nágpur.

Peace was restored all over the Pindáris and Pathán freebooters. The Maráthá armies defeated, and

of thanks from both Houses
fall at the very summit of his

His ward had married
partner in the banking firm
Haiderábád—a fact used
that the sanction, or count
General had been given to
million sterling at exorbitant
Nizám's Government, where
dered and misapplied, instead
public purposes. Stung by
his good faith, Lord Hastings
ment of India, and returned
appointment of Governor
of Malta.

During the time of Lord
many changes had taken place
Company. In 1808 a Secretary
of Commons inquired into
Indian trade, and sat for
of the Company, which had
for a period of twenty years.
Parliament the Charter was
further period of twenty years
and noteworthy alterations

from nearly £25 to less than £1 the ton. It, as Mill writes in his "History of British India": "The Government of India overcame all temporary financial difficulties, and upon the restoration of peace was provided with ample means to meet every demand. At no previous period in the history of the country was the credit of the British Government more firmly established, or was the prospect of financial prosperity more promising than at the commencement of the year 1823, when the Marquis of Hastings retired from the guidance of the pecuniary interests of India."

Notwithstanding the heavy war charges of upwards of 9 millions sterling yearly, the surplus of revenue over expenditure and interest on debt amounted to the last year of Lord Hastings' administration over 3¼ millions sterling.

The most permanent memorial of these years of prosperity was the revenue settlement made by Thomas Munro in Madras. Under this system each cultivator became a direct holder of the land, paying the Government its share of the produce, calculated in money, on the average output estimated from a comparison of the actual yield of each field during a normal year and the past accounts. This settlement was made permanent for a period of thirty

and the dangers or advisability of the S
trolling the work of the missionaries and
sent out from home. A bishop was
appointed to Calcutta, and three archde
the control and superintendence of the C
chaplains.





X.

LORD AMHERST (1823—1828).—FIRST BURMESE WAR.

THE five years of Lord Amherst's Government saw the expansion of the Company's possessions towards the East over Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim.

To the east of the Bay of Bengal the land of Burma was inhabited by a people of Tibeto-Chinese origin, possessing Mongolian features with a fair or yellow complexion. The Burmese proper—the Burmese of Ava—dwelt along the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy, while in its lower courses by the Talaings of Pegu.incessant warfare between rival princes was broken by devastating waves of invasion from the barbarians of China on the north or incursions of the armies of Siam on the south.

rule over Arakan, invaded Assam, Cachar, and at length, growing bolder, invaded the Company's territories. When the Governor-General was remonstrated with his fury knew no bounds, the insult he conceived he had received from the Company of Pegu received orders to proceed to Calcutta, the Governor-General, and bring the offender in golden fetters, for execution. This was done by Lord Amherst on the 24th of January 1784.

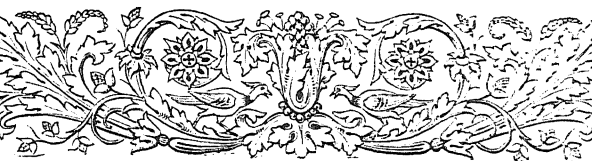
At that time Burma was an unknown country, of its history, geography, or powers nothing was to be learned from even the most experienced authorities. On the declaration of war the British sepoy regiments alleged that their caste rules forbade them from travelling by sea, so the troops had to be sent overland from Chittagong, through the hills, and up the Brahmaputra to Assam. The British called on to send her less scrupulous troops to Rangoon. When Rangoon was taken, the British found that the Burmese fighting men had fled into the surrounding jungles, and the British had fled, leaving the town empty of men. In the advance of the invading force, the British had to pass through and fever-laden jungles that covered the country, delayed by the Burmese who de-
stroyed the British boats, and fired at the British

0,000 British troops had been lost, through disease while fighting, and 14 millions sterling expended at the King of Ava, in 1826, sued for peace. He wanted him on condition that he relinquished his claims to Assam, ceded Arakan and Tenasserim, paid a war indemnity of one million sterling, and agreed to accept a British Resident and enter into a commercial treaty.

Rumours of the disastrous campaign had spread all of exaggeration, throughout North India. The Maráthás, Pindáris, and Játs once again showed signs of insubordination. The Ját chieftain of Bhartpur, Central India, openly defied the authority of the Governor-General, and placed his infant cousin, the rightful heir, whose succession had been recognised by the British authorities, in prison. Lord Amherst hesitated to give orders for an attack on this impregnable fort, so Sir David Ochterlony, who, on receiving news of the revolt, had marched against it from Delhi, was peremptorily ordered to retire. The blow sank deep into the heart of the brave old general who had fought under Warren Hastings and Sir Eyre Coote, and served for fifty years in the company's service. He resigned his appointment as agent in Málwá and Rájputána, and died there.

chieftains of Central India the length directed the Commander-in-bermere, to capture the fort, bring to submission, and thus check threatened outbreak among the

By the 23rd of December, 182 assembled before Bhartpur, and poured forth an incessant fire of artillery failing to make an impression on the sun-baked walls, up thick, a mine was driven under the fortress, filled with ten thousand and exploded. Slowly the whole with the unsuspecting infantry and in the air. A mighty roar he spellbound, the flames and smoke the rising mass was hurled to p among both besieged and besieger the breach was gained, and after a strongest fort in India, which had Company's soldiers and sepoy, defences were razed to the ground almost forgotten in Europe, save the colours of the Royal Munster marched sixty miles in eighteen hours the final assault, the fifth, in which



XI.

ORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828—1835). — COMMENCEMENT OF MODERN HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

THE first task taken in hand by the new Governor-General was the invidious one of restoring the financial equilibrium disturbed by the late Burmese war. In the five years ending 1829 the annual extraordinary charges had amounted to £2,878,000, the expenditure in 1828 exceeding the income by one million sterling. The first saving of £20,000 annually, effected by abolishing the extra allowance granted to the Company's officers when on duty in districts far removed from headquarters or when engaged in war, brought down such a storm of censure and indignant remonstrance that it was soon abandoned.

ture was curtailed by the employment, as far as possible, of natives in the public service.

In the North-west Provinces Lord William inaugurated the system of collecting revenue from the village community as a new and essentially different from that established by the Permanent Settlement which was first carried into effect in Madras by Lord Munro.

The most striking of all the reforms of the administration of Lord William was the abolition of the custom whereby widows deemed it their sacred duty to throw themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands, a custom especially in vogue in the North-west. This custom was a barbarous one of which the later revival in India being a result of localised causes. Long before Lord William Bentinck efforts had been made to suppress this outrage against every feeling of humanity.

In the time of Akbar, the great Emperor of the Moghuls, laws had been enacted to prevent the practice, carried out by the Hindús, it being forbidden to burn widows unless permitted by the local Governors at the request of the Emperor.



the other world. . . . However, Querque took the city of Gondar time forth that any more was to be done, and though to change one's country was itself, nevertheless they were not to be and spake very highly of him, saying that there should be no more.

The widow who burned her husband was called a *Satī*, a word derived from a Sanskrit verb, "sād," to be, and a *Satī* expresses the idea of a woman deemed to exist absolutely virtuous, brave and religious, who, in accordance with the ordinances handed down from her ancestors, offered herself on her husband's funeral pyre. It is remembered that social customs in India are so interwoven one with another that even the most unimportant habits of eating, drinking, and sleeping are subject of religious sanction. A defaulter of the Divine wrath is visited. The reasons for widow-burning are primitive elements of savagery, the belief of the husband that the wife, by her death, would be his deceiver, still, in India the custom is still in vogue.

WIDOW BURNING.

dained from of old that a widow, if childless, be entitled to the use of her husband's property at his decease, but that she had no power to dispose of such property by gift, sale, or mortgage. It was therefore impossible for the childless widow to retain the property on the periodical performance of the numerous and costly religious rites which the Hindu religion and the Bráhmaṇ priesthood had ordered to propitiate the soul of the deceased and to assist its journey through the realms where punishment was awarded for its evil deeds. It therefore became necessary to free the property from the possession of the widow, so that it might pass into the hands of other heirs competent to distribute it to the Brahman priesthood for the presumed benefit of the deceased. The custom of burning widows was in vogue among ruder races with whom the Aryans of India had come in contact, as indeed it had been a custom among the Aryans themselves in very early times in their primeval homes in the west. It was nowhere in the Vedas—the writings held by all Hindus to declare the revealed Will of God—could any sanction for the unholy rite be found. When efforts were made to finally put an end to the custom in India, the difficulty was speedily surmounted by the caste Bráhmaṇ priesthood. One text in the

"agneh," "of the fire." Having thus mutilated the text the Bráhmán priests declared that the widow-burning was a custom inculcated on a caste Hindú widows by a Divine ordinance, and the intention of the Governor-General to suppress the custom was a direct attack on the Hindú religion.

The Government of Lord William Bentinck, with the concurrence of all civilised natives, passed on December 4, 1829, declaring that the "practice of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindús was illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts."

One unforeseen result followed on the passing of this Act. The high-caste widow was left at a disadvantage with no future.

A girl of high caste in India is betrothed at the age of three or four. Though this early marriage is imperfect and revocable until the marriage ceremony takes place, some time afterward the bride and bridegroom take seven steps to the family altar, still if the husband die in that time, or afterwards, the girl becomes a widow, whose relations the very idea of her remarriage is so abhorrent, for she is considered for ever spiritually united to the deceased, whose future existence in part on his wife's good or evil deeds.

It was not till the Act XV. of 1856 was passed that an effort was made to encourage the remarriage of these Hindú widows, by enacting that "no marriage contracted with Hindús shall be invalid by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed."

That this Act had but slight effect may

the last Census Returns, where it is shown that there are 23,000,000 widows in India, 10,165 of them under four years of age, and 51,876 of them between four and nine. For those who are of respectable families, there is but little alleviation from the dull monotony of a life which is deemed to have failed in its primary purposes, that of being a wife and mother, and we find from the same Census Returns that in the whole of India there are but 543,495 women who can read or write, the number of those who can neither read nor write being 127,726,768, while there are but 1·8 per cent of girls of school-going age attending school.

Another equally important service rendered to India by the administration of Lord William Bentinck was the rooting out of the Thags, or professional assassins, whose hereditary occupation was the poisoning and strangling of travellers. Some estimate of the extent of the spread operations of these criminals can be gathered from the fact that between the years 1826 and 1834, 1,562 of the members of this strange sect were tried, 1,404 of them being convicted and sentenced to be hanged or else transported for life. The existence of Thags in India had been known for a long time. In the days of Akbár, it is recorded that five hundred of them were hanged, while the accounts of early travellers are full of stories respecting the insecurity of the roads and dangers of travelling, and the account of the atrocities of these professional murderers.

Heavenot, a French traveller in India in the seventeenth century, gives a detailed account of the operations of the Thags, as carried on between Agra and

Delhi. He quaintly details how "the cunningest robbers in the world are in that country. They use a certain slip, with a running noose, which they can cast with so much sleight about a man's neck, when they are within reach of him, that they never fail, so that they strangle him in a trice. They have another cunning trick also to catch travellers; they send out a handsome woman upon the road, who, with her hair dishevelled, seems to be all in tears, sighing and complaining of some misfortune, which she pretends has befallen her. Now, as she takes the same way that the traveller goes, he easily falls into conversation with her, and finding her beautiful, offers her his assistance, which she accepts; but he hath no sooner taken her up behind him on horseback than she throws the snare about his neck and strangles him."

These Thags wandered to and fro by road and river, disguised as travellers or rich merchants, waiting for an opportunity to ingratiate themselves into the company of unsuspecting wayfarers, with whom they journeyed till they found a suitable place and time to murder them and carry off their valuables. The strangest fact about these stranglers was that they travelled about in bands all bound together by the strictest vows. Their operations were carried on with the utmost secrecy, no traveller whom they had ever met being allowed to escape to tell the tale of his adventures. All their deeds were supposed to be carried out in honour of the dread Goddess Kálf or Bhavání. To her the pickaxe, which they always carried with them to dig the graves of their victims, was consecrated, even the noose with which they

ed their victims was held sacred. After each
ful raid, offerings were made in the temples of
dness. Their terrible profession was, unknown to
tish rule, openly recognised by the native land-
and heads of villages, who shared in their booty
hased their blood-stained and ill-gotten gains.
ng captured and brought before the English
of Justice, the Thags did not hesitate to
y recount the full number of the fearful murders
ad perpetrated, never evincing the slightest
f repentance or remorse or in any way giving
ce that they considered their undertakings as
but holy and blameless. The story of their
as detailed by themselves, is now preserved in
cript in the archives of the India Office at
hall, and form the weirdest record of human
ity and wayward wickedness that could possibly
nd in the history of any people laying claim to
sidered sane and reasoning beings. Yet when
savages were not engaged in their so-called
and lucrative employment they settled down
ceful cultivators till the season arrived, and the
s were propitious, for their operations.
e writings of two semi-orientalised and astute
istrators, Colonel Sleeman and Colonel Meadows
r, at length drew public attention to the subject,
on a special department for the suppression
e Thags was inaugurated. Within six years
y all the members of the fraternity were hanged,
ported, or else sent to the Central Jail at Jabal-
o end their days in carpet-making or some other
l and harmless occupation.

In isolated parts of India cases of murder still similar to those perpetrated by the Thugs; an officer who has moved among the more ignorant classes of the natives and read their thoughts venture to assert that if once the strong hand civilising power were removed, crimes, equally cruel and unreasoning, would not again spring to life, be casually ignored by the dreamy dwellers in the soothing plains of India.

The Charter of the Company was renewed for a further period of twenty years, but the exclusive right of trading with China was abolished; the Proprietors' dividend of some £630,000 for the future to be paid by an annuity on the part of the Government. Lord Macaulay was sent out as an additional member of the Governor-General's Council to give the impress of his imaginative and versatile genius to the administration, legislation, and history of India. The first question he had to consider was whether the higher education of the natives of India should be carried on in the classical languages of the East or in English. His opinion has become famous more for the vigour and brilliancy of the language in which it was expressed than for any new light he possessed of, or new light he threw on, the question he was called on to consider.

Although he confessed that he knew nothing of the classical languages of the East, still he held that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia; and further, "that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written

it language is less valuable than what may be in the most paltry abridgment used at primary schools in England. In every branch of natural or moral philosophy the relative position of two nations is nearly the same."

At the Resolution of 1835 it was decided that the official language of India should be English and that in the future it should be the medium through which higher education of the natives should be imparted. As Macaulay urged: "Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations."

It may safely be said that the literature now written in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which 300 years ago was written in all the languages of the world together. This is all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher classes of natives at the seats of Government. It is destined to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European Communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; and of communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian Empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of the literature or at the particular situation of this country we shall see the strongest reason to think that of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects."



XII.

LORD AUCKLAND (1836—1842).—LORD ELLENBOROUGH (1842—1844).—AFGHÁNISTÁN.

BEYOND the Company's dominions the Punjáb, ruled over by Ranjit Singh, still remained unannexed. Further to the west was the wide-flowing Indus, a river the glories of which had from of old been sung by the Vedic Rishis. It was to the ancient poets the boundary of the Holy Land of the Five Rivers separating the Aryan people from the wild, fierce tribes beyond. It was the unconquered, mighty, swift as a young horse, fair as a maiden, clothed in rich garments, gems, and sweet flowers. Like a king of battle it roared with the roar of a bull, leading its tributaries to the front; from before all times its path had been dug out by the gods so that their worshippers might be protected by its sea of waters. Beyond lay the boundaries of the world, precipitous mountain ranges, bleak and almost trackless, weird and forbidding, raising their peaks higher and higher towards the lofty barriers of the Hindú Kush and lonely solitudes of the Pamírs closing in Afghánistán from Central Asia

Shujá-úl-Múlk, grandson of the first Saduzai of Afghánistán, Ahmad Sháh, had been driven from his kingdom, and came bearing with him the Koh-i-núr diamond wherewith to bid for the alliance of Ranjít Singh, the Lion of Lahore. Shujá returned to Afghánistán without the diamond. In exchange for it he received from Ranjít Singh some Sikh warriors, by whose aid he was enabled to take Kandahár. Dost Muhammad Khán, a brave, honest, self-taught, and self-reliant soldier of the Bárakzai clan, who had assumed sway in Afghánistán, again drove out the weak and distrusted Shujá, only to find to his rage and mortification that the crafty ruler of the Punjáb had in the meanwhile seized the adjoining province of Pesháwar, the largest of all the possessions of Afghánistán. He immediately applied to Lord Auckland for assistance in recovering his lost territories from Ranjít

Lord Auckland the situation was perplexing. He would not make an enemy of Ranjít Singh, yet he was anxious to gain the alliance of Afghánistán, for it was important that a series of friendly independent or semi-independent states should be interposed between the Company's possessions and the rapidly advancing armies of Russia. By the Treaty of Manchú, in 1828, Russia had wrested from Persia some of her districts on the north-west, and received over 3½ millions sterling as an indemnity for the war expenses as well as an acknowledgment of the right to keep an armed fleet on the Caspian. To counterplot this extension of Russia's influence, Lieu-

tenant Alexander Burnes was sent in 1830 on an embassy to Ranjít Singh, in 1832 to Bokhára, and in 1836 to Afghánistán. The Amír was willing to agree to resist all Russian intrigues, and remain the firm ally of the Indian Government if Lord Auckland would but consent to assist him in the recovery of Pesháwar. To this Lord Auckland would not consent. Dost Muhammad was informed that it had never been the custom of the British Government to interfere in the affairs or disputes of independent states.

The Persian troops, led by a Russian General, and assisted by Russian officers, had laid siege to Herát, the gateway to Afghánistán and India, where the garrison held out under the command of Eldred Pottinger. An expedition was at once sent from Bombay up the Persian Gulf, and landed on the island of Karák which so frightened the Sháh of Persia that he at once withdrew his troops from before Herát. The siege was raised on the 8th of September, 1838, and India was left free from all Russian intrigues in that direction. A graver danger threatened from Kábul. Dost Muhammad, weary of the demands of Lord Auckland, who would give no promise of support in return, had dismissed Burnes on the 26th of April, 1838, and received the Russian envoy Captain Viktevitch. It was at once determined by the Governor-General and his advisers that Dost Muhammad should be deposed, and that a King, friendly to the English, should be placed on the throne of Afghánistán. On the 1st of October, 1838, a proclamation was issued from

announcing that the Supreme Council had the assemblage of a British force for beyond the Indus, in order "to gain for the nation in Central Asia that legitimate which an interchange of benefits would produce." The new King had, however, found to replace the self-willed Dost nad. Sháh Shujá, who had been thrust in Afghánistán by his own people, resided in Áná, a pensioner of the East India Company, willing to promise all things, to remain a ally of the English, to banish the Russians, to keep Pesháwar safe in the keeping of Ranjít. It was therefore further proclaimed by the Governor-General that "His Majesty, Shujá-úl-Múlk, of Afghánistán surrounded by his own troops, be supported against foreign interference and opposition by a British army. The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Sháh will be replaced on his throne by his own subjects adherents, and when he shall be secured in power and the independence and integrity of Afghánistán established, the British army will be withdrawn."

Sir Willoughby Cotton, an army of 9,500 men, and four times the number of camp followers, crossed the Indus at Rohri, while Sir John Popham, with 5,600 men from Bombay, advanced along the coast to join the main body from Bengal, our ally and faithful ally," Ranjít Singh, refusing to allow a large force to pass through his dominions on the direct route to Afghánistán by way of the

Naibar Pass. As the expedition passed through and, held to be a tributary of Afghánistán, its chiefs were reduced to submission and made to pay tribute, the Political Agent having been directed to form them that if they resisted, "neither the ready power to crush and annihilate them, nor the will to call it into action were wanting; if it appeared requisite, however remotely, for the safety and integrity of the Anglo-Indian Empire and frontier." After a long and weary journey through unknown deserts where neither supplies nor water could be obtained, the expedition under Cotton reached the Bolán Pass on the 10th of March. It had already suffered heavy losses in horses, camels, and camp followers, the baggage having been plundered on the route by the uncouth Balúchí robbers who came swarming round. Through the bleak Bolán Pass the dispirited, cold, and half-fed soldiers held on their way, they reached Quetta, where Sir John Keane assumed command, and led them on through the Nojak Pass towards Kandahár.

On the 8th of May his Majesty Sháh Shujá was paraded through the streets of Kandahár at the head of the combined British troops to receive the homage of his wondering subjects who turned away in sullen indifference from their new King, those alone remaining whom British gold had won, or hopes of future favours held subservient. On the 21st of July the British army carried Sháh Shujá on to Ghazni with but two days' supplies in the camp and no prospect of obtaining more in a hostile land. The gates of Ghazni were blown open by Lieutenant Darnley, and in



OUTRAM.

the desperate struggle which ensued for the possession of the fortress Colonel Sale was cut across the face with a tulwar, two hundred of the British troops fell, killed and wounded, and the fierce Afghán defenders lost five hundred of their number before they surrendered their stronghold and its supplies to the hated foreigners and their puppet King. On the fall of Ghazní the Governor-General obtained an Earldom, and John Keane a Peerage, Macnaghten and Pottinger Baronetcies. Dost Muhammad, on hearing the news of the fall of Ghazní fled from Kábul across the Hindú Kush, accompanied by his son, Akbar Khán. For six days and nights the brave James Outram and George Lawrence, with one hundred followers, rode after the flying monarch, past the fortified Afghán villages, over the steep passes of the Hindú Kush to Pámián, but their guides had been bribed to delay on the road, so the exiled King escaped to seek aid far away. Sháh Shujá, brilliantly arrayed and decked with jewels, was led on a white charger through the bazaars of Kábul, where the people rose not to acclaim him, but sat scowling beneath their shaggy eyebrows at the foreigners who had come to seek out the secrets of their homes and rule them with a rod of iron.

The Governor-General had proclaimed that when a King of Afghánistán "shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghánistán established, the British Army will be withdrawn."

The King who could alone be established in power in Afghánistán was the able ruler, Dost Muhammad, who had for a time fled, and the British army sub-

ly withdrawn was not the army that paraded Shujá through the streets of Kábul as their ally, but the army that came to avenge its wrongs and acknowledge the right of Dost Muhammad to reign.

Thousand British soldiers remained in Afghánistan during the winter of 1839 to support the weak Shujá. To conciliate the fierce Pathán hill tribes of the passes lying between Kábul and the coast a yearly subsidy was promised them by the British envoy, while to the Ghilzai tribesmen an annual allowance of £3,000 was meted out in order to induce them to abstain from raiding the convoys passing to and from Ghazní and Kandahár. The peace passed away in ominous quiet. At the request of Shujá the British troops were removed from the spacious and well-fortified citadel, the Bálá Hissár, which commanded the city from the west, lodged in an open space, surrounded by weak walls, known as the cantonments, a position well in range of the neighbouring forts and hills. No one dreamed of danger. Dost Muhammad was an exile in Bokhára, where the British envoys, Pollock and Stoddart were kept in cruel captivity afterwards murdered. D'Arcy Todd was supposed to have won by his gold the friendship of the Amir of Herát, while, in November, 1839, the Russians had fallen back with fearful loss to Orenburg after a disastrous effort to penetrate the sandy deserts of the north round Khíva.

Peace seemed assured from the Indus to the Oxus. Shujá listened with becoming submission to the

advice of Sir William Macnaghten, the British envoy, while Dr. Lord ruled and raided the chieftains round Kámián, beyond the Hindú Kush, as though he were going over the lands of the weak Sháh Shujá. Wise men had declared before the war began that the difficulties would only commence when the army had fully occupied the land, and that not a man would turn alive to tell the tale of Afghán treachery and vengeance. All these gloomy forebodings were forgotten, and the envoy rode through the streets of Kábul in fancied security. The English officers brought their wives from India, the nobles of Afghánistán came to visit the gardens in the cantonments, bringing presents of grapes, melons, and peaches, eager to learn how to grow potatoes, peas, and other vegetables. None seemed to note, or if they did, to care, how the rage daily burned in the hearts of the wild, fierce Afgháns, as the hated reigniers wandered through their villages and passed down their streets, treating with haughty contempt their jealous looks. A tremor of unrest ran through the garrison, and the guns were hastily mounted within the mud walls of the cantonments when the news came that Dost Muhammad had been released by the Khán of Bokhára, and was advancing towards Kámián at the head of an army of Uzbek and Kazára cavalry. Later on came the tidings that the Bengal cavalry had refused to charge against the advancing foe and had looked on while Dr. Lord was slain, and their officers, Fraser and Ponsonby, driven back, wounded and disabled, to carry the news of their defeat to Sir Robert Sale. It was but a shadow

fallen across the path of the British envoy. In the evening of the 4th of November, 1840, Sir Robert Macnaghten was riding home sad and lonely by the side of George Lawrence, when "a powerful man, with a sharp aquiline nose, highly arched eyebrows, and a grey beard and moustache evidently had not been trimmed for a long time, rode rapidly up to them, dismounted from his horse and seized the stirrup of the envoy, bowing in a submissive salutation. It was the unfortunate Muhammad who, weary of his exile and knowing that he could no longer resist his fate, had ridden to surrender. He was escorted into India by Sir George Grey, where he was allowed to reside, and was granted a pension of £20,000 a year, his free and open manners, his strength of character and his energy making his former foes regret that they had not quarrelled with him. Sháh Shujá, on the other hand, is bluntly described by General Nott as "not only as great a scoundrel as ever lived." He was despised and hated by his own subjects, his former allies would have been glad if they could have honestly abandoned him. The occupation of Afghanistan was costing the Indian Government over £1,000,000 sterling annually; the military officers, disgusted at the secret intrigues and vacillating policy of the political officers, were weary of the whole business, and contented themselves with prognosticating an ultimate failure and disaster.

That had been abandoned when it was found that the British had only pretended friendship so long as he could obtain money from the British envoy stationed

here. On Sir William Macnaghten the Governor-General impressed the necessity of making all possible financial retrenchments: consequently the yearly subsidy to the hill tribesmen was withheld, whereon they once again commenced their old guerilla warfare, and had to be bought off by Sale, who, while endeavouring to return to India, was attacked by them in the defiles of the Khurd Kābul passes. In the midst of all the uncertainties and dangers gathering round, the Governor-General appointed General Elphinstone to the command of the army of occupation, notwithstanding the brave old soldier's remonstrances that he was physically unsuited for the post, or as he wrote "if anything were to turn up I am unfit for it, done up in body and mind."

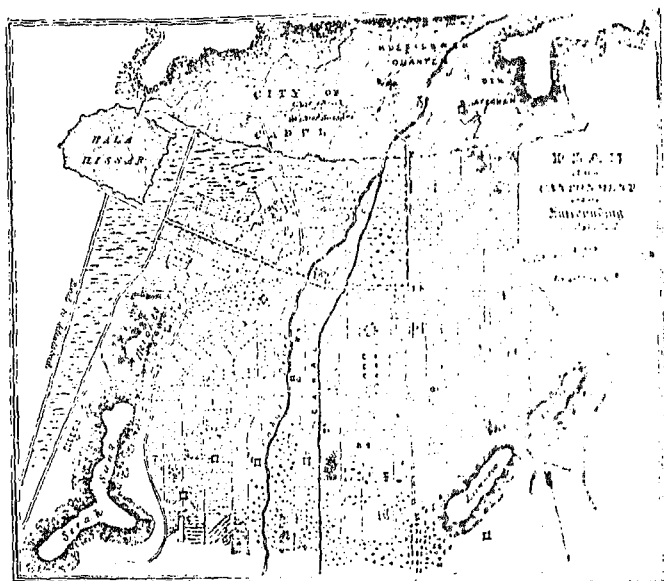
Not only was the Commander-in-Chief incompetent to command the army, not only were the cantonments practically defenceless, but the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, was pledged to see nothing but success flow from all his negotiations, notwithstanding the fact that he had received reliable news that the Afghāns had sworn that not a foreigner would leave the country alive, and his destined successor, Sir Alexander Burnes, lived in the city, carrying on in unbridled security his own intrigues in the midst of bitter foes, who met nightly to discuss how they might avenge the insults he had showered on them. Sudden and swift as a raging, cyclonic storm the obvious course of the pent-up fury of the Afghāns burst on the unsuspecting garrison, guilty and innocent alike. No pen has dared to fully tell the tale of insult the Afghāns may have had to avenge;

terate the memory of the acts and deeds they
gely and indiscriminately punished.

On the 1st of November, 1841, Sir William Mac-
rote wrote that all was well, that the land "was
quiet from Dan to Beersheba." Early the
morning the bazaars of Kábul were filled with
crowds of armed Afgháns, who surged to
calling for the blood of "Sikandar" Burnes
the gold in the British Treasury. As Sir
der Burnes looked forth from the house
he had chosen to live in the midst of the
he heard the angry roar and saw the Treasury
es and his own stables burning. Well he
ave known what the outbreak meant, well he
ave felt that he of all men could hope for no

As he came forth to speak the bullets flew
m, and below, the wild eyes of the Afgháns
eir hate and savage determination to reap a
vengeance for all past wrongs. The brave
ot fell by his side; still the crowd called for
e of "Sikandar" Burnes. Burnes and his
, disguised as natives, essayed to escape
ced through the surrounding crowd, but as
told out they were cut to pieces by the
sharp, heavy knives of the infuriated Afgháns
Shujá's sepoy guards tried to make their way
h the crowded streets, where they were fired at
ne housetops and forced to retreat. From the
here the Treasury and house of Burnes were in
guns opened fire on the King's palace. From

the British force of five thousand fighting men at the cantonments no help came. George Lawrence, who rode to the King for orders, was cut at by an Afghan, one of his escort was wounded, and he had to flee for his life. Captain Sturt of the Engineers, son-in-law of Sir Robert Sale, was stabbed at the palace gates and



KABUL.

(From "Journal of an Afghanistan Prisoner,"
by Lieut. Vincent Eyre.)

carried back senseless to the cantonments. The King, pallid with fear, not knowing whom to trust, gave orders and then countermanded them, kept the British force, which had arrived about noon from the Siyā Sang heights, waiting so long that there was nothing left for them to do but cover the retreat of the apoy

from the city. In the cantonments Mac-
rode sadly to and fro, wondering how they
receive the news in India, trying to persuade
that the outbreak would soon be over, while
er Shelton declared his willingness to fight.
belief that there was no hope for the army
pation but instant flight from the land so
ill-fate to the British. The day wore on
thing was done. Inaction was followed by
dency, soon to give way to sullen indifference.
ne surrounding villages the tribesmen thronged
e city. From Jalálábád to Kábul, and from
to Kandahár the land was full of fierce foes.
ort holding all the supplies, stores, and pro-
for the army of occupation was abandoned
enemy, leaving but two days' food in the
ment for a garrison of five thousand men and
twelve thousand camp followers. The British
n was untenable. From the neighbouring hills
surrounding forts the Afgháns picked off the
n with unerring aim, firing from rests their
azails or guns, which carried further than the
h muskets. There was no course open to the
but to make the best terms he could with
enemy and secure his retreat to India. On
th of December he promised to give back to
iefs their chosen King Dost Muhammad, and to
on Sháh Shujá if the British army were allowed
rch in safety out of Afghánistán. The treaty
made, Macnaghten repented. He could not
o think that his long-hoped march of triumph
be turned to an ignominious retreat, and all his

e boast over the success of his mission
 ed for ever. He determined to make one
 gle to extricate himself from his difficulties
 e surrendered. Secret negotiations were
 p with some of the treacherous Afghán
 see if they could be bribed to take the
 e English and abandon the national cause
 Muhammad. To Akbar Khán, son of Dost
 ad, the envoy offered the sum of £300,000,
 of £400,000, and to make him Prime
 if he would yet stay his hand and support
 reigning sovereign, Sháh Shujá. To all
 hán feigned to agree. He asked Mac-
 to come out from the cantonments and
 on the neighbouring slopes of the Siyá
 s, where the new treaty might in secret
 l. The envoy, though warned not to trust
 within the power of the Afghán, would not
 perhaps he still trusted in his own diplomatic
 r it may be he resolved to stake his life in
 ort to retrieve the situation. With George
 , Captain Colin Mackenzie, and Captain
 e rode forth on the 23rd of December to
 ar Khán, who sat waiting on a mound not
 dred yards from the cantonments, surrounded
 estains and guards. As they drew near the
 elosed round, Akbar Khán seized Sir William
 en by the left wrist, and as the envoy
 and cried out, "For the love of God!"
 hán in a sudden fury of passion drew a
 m his waist and fired. Macnaghten fell,
 n instant was hewn to pieces by the sharp

of the guards. The envoy's head was carried off, paraded through the city, and then hung in the market-place for the crowd to jeer at. Mackenzie and Trevor were seized and carried off on horseback, Trevor was cut down as he tried to escape. The garrison watched the retreat from the cantonments, in their consternation following round Macnaghten's escort as it rode back, without full details of the disaster. The cry was for an immediate retreat on Jalálábád, where Sir Robert was entrenched. On New Year's Day of 1842 the enemy's demands were acceded to. Hostages were given for the immediate evacuation of the country. Bare guns, arms, and ammunition were delivered to the army retaining only six field-pieces. All the money in the military chest was paid over to the Afghán 6½ lakhs of rupees being promised to them when the retreating force was again safe on Indian soil.

Around, the frozen ground lay buried a foot deep beneath the falling snow. In the cantonments fallen British soldiers, the cowering sepoys, the starved camp followers as they crouched round flickering fires made up of stolen furniture, the women—some with new-born children—all heard with indifference the order given for the march across the bleak mountains for Jalálábád. By many words which Lady Sale, in those sad hours, kept repeating to herself must have been remembered with equally woful significance :—

" Few, few shall part where many meet,
The snow shall be their winding sheet ;
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre."

On the morning of the 6th of January 4,500 fighting men, enough in fair fight to have hurled the cowardly Afgháns back to their dens, 12,000 camp followers, men, women, and children passed over the razed cantonment walls on the long march which few survived to tell of. Before the rear-guard had joined in, the deserted houses in the cantonments were pillaged and burned, the baggage and spare stores carried away. As the half-frozen camp followers sank weary by the roadside, they were slain by the marauding Afgháns who followed up their retreating foe, firing with their long-ranged Jazails into the straggling ranks.

Through deep snow, through icy rivers, brooks, and rivulets the band marched on, their clothes frozen and stiff, to reach their camp, only five miles out from Kábul, where neither food nor tents awaited them. That night many sank to sleep who never woke. The survivors needed no bugle-call to summon them in the early morning to rise and once again face death. The guns were spiked and left behind, the dumbed sepoy's threw away the muskets they could no longer carry. In front lay the long journey of one hundred miles to Jalálábád over precipitous mountain-peaks. From the hillsides the Ghilzai mountaineers rolled down rocks, and fired into the crowded mass of soldiers and camp followers. Before five miles' march was accomplished 500 soldiers and 5,500 followers had fallen. Women carrying infant children struggled on; Lady Sale, with a bullet in her arm and three bullet-holes through her mantle, had to remain behind and comfort her daughter, who sat

g by the side of her husband, the gallant
er officer Sturt, now wounded to death by the
from an Afghán knife. The end was close at
On the next day, the 9th, the surviving women
ildren, along with Lawrence, Pottinger, and
nzie, were given up as hostages to Akbar Khán.
a single sepoy of those who left Kábul on the
January lived to reach the Haft Kotál Pass on
orning of the 10th, and by night-time of the
day only 250 white men reached the Tazin
, 8,200 feet above the sea level. The next
o hundred fought their way on to the Jagdalak
where Elphinstone and Shelton were detained
tages by Akbar Khán. The remainder still
with all the desperation of despair, tore down
arricades of stone and interlaced trees that
ed their path, and turned again and again to
eir relentless foes. Step by step death marched
e side of the last few remaining victims. The
ansmen had sworn to let no foreign foe escape
through their mountain passes, of which they
hemselves the hereditary guardians. With calm
ce they followed the dwindling band of heroes.
the road to Gandamak the last survivors fell
y one. At Fathábád six officers, all that re-
ed, stayed to beg for food, and but three escaped
on towards Jalálábád. Two were cut down
within two miles of safety, and Dr. Brydon alone
ned, except those left behind as hostages, out
e 16,500 who had marched out of Kábul. By
ide rode a fierce Afghán horseman, waiting for
portunity to rush in and slay the last of the

foreigners. Dr. Brydon's wearied horse made one fatal stumble, the Afghán rode in and Brydon's sword was severed at the handle and his knee deep wounded. As Brydon learned forward in pain, the Afghán, fearing the Englishman was about to draw a pistol, rode away in haste, leaving the sole survivor to carry the news of the fatal retreat to Jalálábád, where the garrison gazed forth from the walls, wondering what strange fate brought the jaded horseman from the lonely mountains across the desert valley.

All night the beacon fires blazed forth, and the clarion note of the trumpet sent forth by the sentinels on the walls of Jalálábád died away to a moan up the mountain-sides, as if in mournful lament that there was no one left to steal forth from the long valley of death. From trembling lip to trembling lip the tale of woe was whispered among the defenders of Jalálábád, but along the bleak hillsides of the Khurd Kábul Pass the fallen bodies of the soldiers lay wrapt around with deep silence, where they remained, the sole memorials of the disastrous advance of the British army into Afghánistán.

Of those that left Kábul 120, including Lady Sale and Lady Macnaghten, remained alive in the hands of Akbar Khán, while a few sepoys escaped to Pesháwar to spread the story of retreat through the villages of the Punjáb.

The garrison at Ghazní had surrendered, the officers, including John Nicholson, who afterwards fell at the siege of Delhi during the Mutiny, being taken prisoners to Kábul. At Kandahár Nott and Rawlinson—afterwards Sir Henry—held out; at Jalá-

ale, Broadfoot, and Lawrence remained
ed.

Auckland sank beneath the crushing weight
unparalleled errors " and " unparalleled disas-
ch had signalised his Governor-Generalship,
returned home, to leave to other hands the
the prisoners and relief of the garrisons still
holding out at Kandahár and Jalálábád.
Ellenborough reached Calcutta as the new
-General on the 28th of February, 1842,
d of a new policy according to which Sale
relieved at Jalálábád, and Nott at Kandahár,
ch the troops were to be " withdrawn ulti-
om Afghánistán, not from any deficiency of
o maintain our position, but because we are
ed that the King we have set up has not, as
erroneously led to imagine, the support of
n over which he has been placed."

Shujá, as a matter of fact, was killed at Kábul
of April, and his body thrown into a ditch,
hán having assumed the sovereignty in the
of his father, Dost Muhammad.

ill the same month was General Pollock,
y George Clerk and Henry Havelock, able
e heart to the sepoy's of the relieving force
lost all confidence in their officers, and lead
ough the Khaíbar Pass.

ád once relieved, Lord Ellenborough was
ly obliged to consent that the garrison from
ir should join the troops under Pollock and
Kábul and rescue the prisoners from the hands
r Khán.

Nott, and the Khurd Kábul passes cleared
osing tribesmen by General Pollock. By the
ptember the British colours were flying once
the citadel at Kábul, and the prisoners,
exception of General Elphinstone, who had
tted by all, safe among their friends and
The Great Bazaar was blown up, and
ely much of the city was given over to
ate pillage and plunder.

1st of October, 1842, exactly four years
Auckland's unfortunate declaration of war
policy of the Governor-General was declared
nation from Simla by the Secret Depart-
the Indian Council in the following high-
words :—"Disasters unparalleled in their
ess by the errors in which they originated,
e treachery by which they were completed
e short campaign been avenged upon every
st misfortune; and repeated victories in the
ve again attached the opinion of invincibility
ish rule.

ritish Army in possession of Afghánistán
be withdrawn to the Satledge. The
General will leave it to the Afgháns
s to create a government amidst the
hich is the consequence of their crimes.
at with the limits nature appears to have
o its empire, the government of India will
l its efforts to the establishment and
ce of general peace, to the protection
overeigns and Chiefs its allies, and to

prosperity and happiness of its own faithful

the rivers of the Punjáb and the Indus, and the mountain passes, and the barbarous tribes of Afghánistán will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west—if, indeed, such an enemy there can be—and no longer between the army and its supplies."

The British army returned to India in triumph: Dost Mahomed went back to Afghánistán to establish his rule firmer than it had ever been, his last personal remark to the Governor-General being that he did not understand why he had been deprived of a rich and fertile poor and barren country."

The answer to the question lies in the future. As long as the ruler of Afghánistán holds his state independent from foreign influence and is able to maintain internal peace and prosperity, it will be to the interests of British rule in India to court his friendship, support his administration, and by all possible means strengthen his position.

In 1842 the lesson was learned that Afghánistán is composed of elements out of which an independent and powerful nationality might possibly in time be evolved, that, notwithstanding the vast distance of the British army from its basis, and the follies of its commanders, its power could not ultimately be resisted by the state surrounding its borders.

The immediate result of the war with Afghánistán was the conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier.

Sind was originally subordinate to Afghánistán, its rulers, or Amírs, holding a semi-inde-

pendent authority along the lower valleys of the Indus. After the retreat of the British army from Kábul some of the Amírs became refractory, as was their wont when occasion offered, and repudiated the treaties they had made to preserve peace. Lord Ellenborough thereupon resolved to declare war with them and annex their country. The political morality of this resolution was tersely summed up by Sir Charles Napier, who wrote, "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality it will be."

Sir Charles Napier marched with 2,700 men against the army of Sind, consisting of over 20,000 Balúchís, whom he completely defeated at the battle of Míáni. The final result of the victory was telegraphed by Sir Charles Napier to the Governor-General in the following word: "Percavi": I have sinned (Sind).

One last war occupied Lord Ellenborough before he was recalled, in June, 1843, by the Directors who were more than dissatisfied with his erratic policy and fondness for military display. On the death of Jhankují Sindhia, in 1843, his widow, Tára Bháí, a girl of twelve, adopted a relative aged eight as son and heir, whom she succeeded in having enthroned at Gwalior as Jaiájí Ráo Sindhia. The Governor-General and Tára Bháí disagreed on the choice of a regent, a disagreement which ultimately resulted in a declaration of war. The army of Gwalior, which had reached upwards of 30,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, was defeated by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, at Mahárájpur, both sides losing heavily.

nal battle at Panniár on the same date.
29, 1843, the Maráthás were finally over-
The Governor-General forced his terms on
the Maráthá army was reduced in num-
the English contingent raised to a
l force of 10,000 sepoy's, a force which
s caused considerable trouble and anxiety
e Mutiny of 1857.





XIII.

LORD HARDINGE (1844—1848). —THE SIKHS AND ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJÁB.

PROBABLY the most marvellous character in Indian history is Ranjít Singh, the Lion of Lahore, who for nearly fifty years held the Punjáb in the hollow of his hand.

In 1836 Baron Hügel, who was then travelling in the Punjáb, writes: "Ranjít Singh is now 54 years old. The small-pox deprived him, when a child, of his left eye, whence he gained the surname of Kána, one eye, and his face is scarred by the same malady. His beard is thin and grey, with a few dark hairs in it; according to the Sikh religious custom, it reaches a little below his chin and is untrimmed. His head is square and large for his stature, which, though naturally short, is now considerably bowed by disease; his forehead is remarkably broad. His shoulders are wide, though his arms and hands are quite shrunk; *he is the most forbidding human being I have ever seen.* His large, brown, unsteady, and suspicious eye seems driving into the thoughts of the person with whom he converses, and his straightforward

are put incessantly and in the most laconic His speech is so much affected by paralysis no easy matter to understand him." was Ranjít Singh, the craftiest if not the sovereign who ever founded an empire in India. , dissipated, avaricious, cruel, and debauched, in the words of Sir Lepel Griffin, "possessed in ordinary degree the qualities without which best success cannot be attained. Men obeyed instinct and because they had no power to ' Illiterate, unable to write, signing his orders the impress of his hand dipped in saffron, he men, noble or mean, as if their thoughts head out before him. Though he deemed that itality had not been fully extended to Gover- neral or British envoys unless he reeled from essence intoxicated with his favourite beverage ndy prepared for him, in which were the t sauces compounded from the flesh of every animal, beef excepted, pearls and jewels, musk yet no man found him otherwise than fasci- r courteous and clever, able to overreach all subtle finesse of diplomatic intrigue. Callous, cold, and false, outrager of all laws of morality en decency, deformed, paralysed, with fiendish n acknowledging the children of his many s his own, he was yet followed to the funeral y the tears and lamentations of his subjects. his Rán's, veiled and clothed in white silk, s hands; seven of his fair and beauteous slave me not fourteen years of age, barefooted and at at his feet, while the flames from the sandal-



RANJIT SINGH.

(From "*The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*," by the
Hon. W. G. Osborne.)

and aloes carried their souls and that of their
to the abode of the gods; even his Prime Minister,
Dhyán Singh, overcome for the time, had to be
ly restrained from seeking death when the son
Ranjít Singh fired the pyre.

ny are the stories told of Ranjít Singh, whose
and rapacity were the pivots on which all his
as turned. When Sháh Shujá, driven out from
ánistán, reached India, a hospitable reception
ffered him by Ranjít Singh, who had learned
he exile carried with him the famed Koh-i-núr
ond, the early history of which fades away amid
dary lore and idle fables. It was described by
Hon. W. G. Osborne, military secretary to the
of Auckland, as "a jewel rivalled if not sur-
d in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every
and then shot from the single eye of the Lion
ahore." It shone for many years on a pillar
d on the summit of Akbar's tomb; it was
by Sháh Jahán and Aurangzib; it was
ed away from Delhi by Nádir Sháh, and became
property of Ahmad Sháh Durání, from whom it
ended to Sháh Shujá.

y threats, entreaties, and promises Ranjít Singh
ced the exiled Afghán King to deliver to him
celebrated jewel, which finally, in 1849, was
endered to the Queen of England. Nothing
desired by Ranjít Singh was allowed to re-
n unacquired. He expended 60 lakhs of rupees
the lives of twelve thousand men before he
ly wrested from the Governor of Pesháwar the
nd wonder of the East, the wondrous mare Laáli,

treasure which few could ever induce him to exhibit, perhaps, because (and this has always been a disputed point) he never obtained the famed mare, some other less valuable horse having been substituted to deceive the avaricious monarch.

Ranjit Singh, at the age of twelve, came into possession of the lands of his forefathers, and headship of the Sukarchakia Confederacy. Following the time-honoured custom of his race, he murdered with his own hands his mother and her lover. By the time he was twenty years of age he had extended his influence over the neighbouring districts. He was then welcomed as Governor of Lahore by the inhabitants, who were glad to escape from the lust of their three profligate rulers who had devastated the city, unroofed the houses, and driven forth half the citizens to seek shelter elsewhere, from plunder worse. By degrees he brought beneath his sway the varied chieftains, who, originally cultivators, and after the raids of Ahmad Sháh Durání and the Afgháns, risen to power by gathering round them bands of fighting men to conquer and annex the territories which they held, until compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the new ruler of Lahore. As Ranjit Singh looked round he saw that if he desired to hold the Punjáb independent

Afghánistán and the English possessions, he must organise and discipline an army capable of united action against all invaders. Up to the time of Ranjit Singh, local chieftains had enrolled under their banners bands of Sikh fighting men, each horseman clad in coat of mail, gold inlaid

and heron's plume, or gay-coloured flowing
ment, and armed with spear, matchlock,
and round shield of buffalo hide slung across
back. These bands considered themselves free
to come and go, serve or desert, as the chances of
war or plunder became more or less certain.
They formed a brotherhood, in which all were equal
united in a common, fierce, religious fanaticism—
in one faith. The Sikhs numbered in the time of
Ranjit Singh, probably what they were found to be at
the Census of 1891, not two millions, while the
Muhammadans and Hindús of the Punjáb exceeded
two millions. The word Sikh merely means
disciple—a disciple of a religious teacher, or guru, whose
office is to teach and expound the Ádi Granth or
Bible of their religion, a book held to be a
revelation from God. Nának, son of a shopkeeper of
Lahore, near Lahore, was the first guru, or teacher,
of the Sikhs. Born in 1469, he died at the age of
seventy-one, leaving behind him the Ádi Granth, a
book still daily worshipped, still preserved with more
superstitious awe in the Golden Temple of
Amritsar, the sacred shrine of Hari in the Pool of
Nectar, than in any other place. Through the Ádi Granth runs the
sound of a message proclaimed, afterwards in
written notes, by a poet and prophet of New England.
Via the message was no new one; it had been
repeated over and over again, Nának gave it but
new and local significance, teaching it to Hindús
and Muhammadans alike—to the Hindús, rank
and file, to the Muhammadans, believers in one
God and Muhammad the Prophet of that God.

The new teacher did not claim for himself any Divine attributes, nor did he assert that he had received any special revelation. Influenced by the prevailing Muhammadanism of the Punjáb, he denounced idolatry, and social distinction founded on caste laws. Influenced by the Pantheistic teaching of purer Hindúism, he taught an universal brotherhood, based on the belief that all life is but an emanation from a Divine Creator known under various names, as Supreme Being, God, Brahma, Govinda, or Hari the appellation chosen by the Sikhs. The idea that the human soul, or that the phenomenal world could exist as separate from the Eternal Cause from which it is evolved, was held to be a delusive fancy, ever leading men astray. The soul of man was liable to transmigration through a continued series of births in bodily forms until, by an accumulation of virtuous deeds done during life, the result of all past transgressions was washed away, and no further rebirth was necessary. The gurus, or Sikh teachers, also claim the power to grant exemption from these continual transmigrations.

Nának was followed by a series of teachers, until finally, the tenth, and last Guru, Govind Singh, appeared. His father, Tej Bahádur, the ninth Guru, had been cruelly tortured and put to death by the fanatic Mughal Emperor Aurangzáb. To avenge his death and protect the followers of the Sikh faith from persecution, Govind Singh determined to unite the disciples together into a brotherhood of soldiers. Every Sikh soldier on initiation was baptised with

are of water and refined sugar, stirred by a two-lagger, after which he became a member of the , or Army of the Guru, and to his name the Singh or Lion was affixed. He had to give up of tobacco, vow to carry a sword and dagger, cut his hair or beard, to abandon the Indian th and wear short drawers reaching to the knees, unce the custom of female infanticide, then al in the Punjáb, and to free himself from s of caste. Guru Govind Singh having banded sciples together into an army breathing fanatic of all Muhammadans and oppression, it be- he dream of Ranjít Singh's life to make that nvincible. In 1839 the Khálsa consisted of men with 192 guns, officered, drilled, and ned after the manner of European troops. aid he summoned officers of acknowledged from many lands, the most noted being ls Ventura and Allard, who had served under on, Colonel Court a Frenchman, Colonel r an Irishman, and General Avitabile a itan, a name still remembered in terror by ld robber tribes, whose raids he punished elentless severity; certain frontier villages een granted to him rent free on condition e annually delivered fifty Afrídi heads to the f Lahore.

ft Singh wisely resolved to live in peace with mpany, being far-seeing enough to know that nálsa could not prevail against its forces. in 1809, when the Governor-General, Lord decided to take the Cis-Sutlej chieftains

Under English protection, Ranjít Singh bowed his head and strove no longer to extend his supremacy beyond the Sutlej. Until his death in 1839 he remained the friend and faithful ally of the British Government.

Baron Hügel gives a strange account of a conversation he held with Ranjít Singh respecting the military forces. "‘You have seen divisions of all my troops,’ observed Ranjít Singh to me, ‘tell me what you think of them.’ I answered that what I had seen exceeded anything that I could have anticipated. He still pressed for a more definite answer, and I continued, ‘The world knows what these troops have done for you. The answer to your question has been given by your cannon from Ladak to Multán, from the Sutlej to the heart of Afghánistán.’ ‘You have answered my question,’ said Ranjít Singh. I answered that he was a much better judge of soldiers than I. ‘Tell me,’ he persisted, ‘what you think of my troops compared with those of the East India Company?’ ‘You require me to do so?’ ‘Yes,’ he said. My attendant had on an imitation Kashmír shawl of cheap make, while one of his suite wore a genuine and very beautiful one. I showed him both, saying, ‘This is genuine, the other is imitation—which of the two is the best?’ He looked at me, and said, after a short pause, ‘You have expressed my own opinion, do you believe that a battalion of my army could engage with one of the Company’s battalions?’ ‘My answer is already given in my last question—I do not.’”

On the death of Ranjít Singh, the master hand

held in check the surging forces of ever latent in the Khálsa, was withdrawn. The usual struggle for supremacy took illegitimate descendants of the Lion of Lahore assassinated, leaving impostors and soldiers to fight amongst themselves. At length the favourite wife of Ranjít Singh, succeeded her son Dhulíp Singh, an infant of five years proclaimed Mahárájá, while the real power was in the hands of her brother, Jowáhir Singh, a good-looking Bráhman. The army, dismissed their foreign officers, and nominated as their representatives a Council of five delegates. During the six years succeeding the death of Ranjít Singh, so that it numbered over 70,000 in 1845, more than double what it was in 1839. To keep the army in pay and to prevent it growing restless it had been despatched to attack Guláb Jammu and also against the Governor of Punjab. Everything warned the Governor-General to be on his guard, for to all it was evident that the time would come when the Khálsa in its folly would march on English territory. Avitabile and Court, in danger, fled, and took refuge in the British dominions. Sir Henry Hardinge moved to the frontier—a course objected to by the Khálsa, an objection carefully fomented by the British at Lahore, who saw their safety best secured by turning the attention of its army from the capital. In the year 1845, the Khálsa numbering 60,000

soldiers, with 40,000 camp-followers and 150 guns crossed the Sutlej and advanced to Firozsháh, where they entrenched themselves under Lál Singh, sending forward a division to Múdkí to attack the advancing British troops. An obstinate fight ensued on the 19th of December, the Sikh and British infantry being about equal in number, the Sikh cavalry however, exceeded ours fully twenty times. The English captured seventeen guns, but lost nine hundred men killed and wounded, including Major-General Sir Robert Sale, the defender of Jalálábád.

On December 21st the Governor-General and Sir Hugh Gough advanced against the main army, entrenched at Firozsháh, about ten miles from Múdkí where Sir J. Littler joined Sir Hugh Gough with over 5,000 men and 24 guns, thus increasing the British force to 16,700 men and 68 guns. The Governor-General volunteered as second in command.

The Khálsa, numbering from 30,000 to 70,000 men, remained behind their entrenchments, which extended a mile long and half a mile broad, with the village of Firozsháh in their centre. Never before in the annals of Indian history was there fought a battle so momentous and critical, and never before was the dogged perseverance of British soldiers and fierce valour of Sikh infantry so conspicuously displayed. The British army was in position by 3 p.m., and as the advance took place the Sikh artillery opened fire at a distance of three hundred yards. The Governor-General in a letter gives the details of the opening of the conflict in the following words: "The batteries were carried by our brave British Infantry. Sir John

ler told me H.M.'s 62nd gave way when almost in battery, but what is the fact? One hundred and fifty-five men were killed and wounded in ten minutes of grape and canister, and can he or any other officer be surprised that boys, who never before heard a ball, should turn back?" All day long the stubborn fight continued, and when night fell there came no rest to the weary, cold, and thirsty soldiers. The Governor-General, in a letter to Sir Robert Peel, describes the weird scene which the battle-field disclosed. "A burning camp in our front, our brave soldiers lying down under a heavy cannonade, which continued during the whole of the night, mixed with the wild cries of the Sikhs, our English hurrah, the shouting of men, and the groans of the dying." In the English camp there was talk of retreat; amid the British there were rumours of treachery, for some of our horsemen were riding hard for the Sutlej, and our treasure had been plundered. In the grey morning the British soldiers, without food or water, their fingers numb with cold, seized their muskets, and again the stubborn fight commenced. The Sikhs were at length driven from their position with the loss of five pieces of cannon, but the British force lost 155 killed and wounded, including 103 officers. The wearied troops with their ammunition expended could have been glad to rest with the field dearly bought, but the cavalry outposts galloped up and denounced the advance of Tej Singh from Ferozpur, with a fresh Sikh army of some twenty thousand footmen, five thousand cavalry, and seventy guns. Between the retreating Sikhs and the British army

Tej Singh drew up his troops, and his artillery opened fire, which the English guns without ammunition were unable to answer. Gallantly the exhausted British cavalry—the 3rd Dragoons—charged into the midst of the Sikhs, and their very weight drove before them the lighter horsemen. Tej Singh at once abandoned the field, left behind him seventy-three guns, and followed the main force towards the Sutlej. Whether Tej Singh retreated from prudence, cowardice, or treachery, is unknown; the fierce fight was over, and once again the Company had triumphed, having defeated the boldest and bravest troops that had yet faced it in the East.

The Sikh army, under Tej Singh, retreated to a strong position on the right bank of the Sutlej, below its junction with the Beas, and there, skilfully entrenched, constructed a pontoon bridge across the river to secure retreat.

In the meantime Sir Harry Smith had driven a formidable body of the Khálsa from Alíwál across the Sutlej, and inflicted on them another terrible loss. The 16th Lancers, followed by the 3rd Light Native Cavalry, charged through the Sikh square of infantry, and the discomfited foe fled. They left their guns and stores on the field of battle, and in their endeavours to cross the river numbers were drowned or else slain by the artillery which opened fire on them from the banks.

Sir Harry Smith, proud of his victory, which in his report he described as “one of the most glorious victories ever achieved in India by the united effort of Her Majesty’s and the Honourable Company’s

the Commander-in-Chief, and the united
round the formidable Sikh entrench-
ment, where thirty thousand of the
men of the Khálsa, supported by
cannons, awaited the attack.
On the morning of the 10th of February, 1846, the
Artillery galloped forward to within
a few yards of the Sikh entrenchments
in a semicircle round a bend in the
The infantry followed, and soon the
left, centre, right, and left. No Sikh gave
quarter; fiercely the British troops were
supported from their batteries, the 1st European
losing 197 men out of their reduced
number, twelve of their officers being killed.
It was not, as Sir Hugh Gough in his
report says, "until the Cavalry of the left, under
Colonel Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved
forward, ridden through the openings in the
works made by our sappers, in single file,
and as they passed them, and the 3rd
Division from no obstacle usually held formidable
seemed to check, had on this day, as at
the battle of Allore, galloped over and cut down the obstinate
Sikh batteries and field works, and until the
arrival of three divisions of Infantry, with every
gun which could be sent to their aid,
cast into the scale, that victory finally
went to the British. The fire of the Sikhs first
ceased, and then nearly ceased, and the victors
pressed them on every side, precipitated them
over their bridge and into the Sutlej, which

a sudden rise of 17 inches had rendered hardly fordable. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water they suffered from our horse artillery a terrible carnage. Hundreds fell under this cannonade, hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion and dismay, were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their conquerors, if the Khálsa troops had not, in the earlier part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier, whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy."

The four great Sikh battles, Múdkí, Firozsháh, Alíwál and Sobráon, were over. On the 18th of February the Governor-General was met by the Mahárájá Dhulíp Singh, a child of eight years, and Guláb Singh, the Minister, and at Lahore, in full darbár a treaty of peace was signed. By this the Sikh army was reduced to twenty-four thousand men and fifty guns, the territories between the Beas and the Sutlej were ceded to the English, and 1½ millions sterling demanded as indemnity for the expenses of the war; lands including Kashmír being made over to Guláb Singh on payment of £750,000. The Koh-i-núr diamond was produced from a tin box delivered over to John Lawrence—who for a time lost it—for transmission to the Queen of England. A British force of nine thousand men with a Resident, Major Henry Lawrence, of the Bengal Artillery, was to remain at Lahore for a year, a period afterwards extended, to support the authority of the Mahárájá Dhulíp Singh:

h was appointed Prime Minister, and Tej
mmander-in-Chief of the reduced Sikh force.
ál Singh, the Queen-Mother's lover, did not
his power ; found guilty of conspiring to
he delivery of Kashmír to the new Governor,
ngh, he was banished from the Punjáb, not-
ing the entreaties and tears of the Queen-
As the result, the English troops were
n the Punjáb for eight years, and a Council
cy with Henry Lawrence as Resident, was
l to act during the minority of the infant

and of the Five Rivers was at length at rest,
a Lord Hardinge left for England in 1848,
d Dalhousie succeeded it was confidently
at a long period of peace was in store for the

Dalhousie, however, had not been six months
ountry before the news came that a second
war was close at hand. Múlráj, the Sikh
of the important city of Múltán, in the
alley of the Indus, had offered to resign
an give an account of his stewardship to Sir
Currie, Resident at Lahore during the
of Henry Lawrence. Mr. Vans Agnew of
Service, and Lieutenant Anderson, assistants
Resident, were despatched to receive the
on of Múlráj and to take charge of the
ess. All went well, until suddenly, as the
ers were riding through the city gates, they
cked, severely wounded, and only saved from
being borne away by their slender escort to

a Muhammadan mosque, unfortunately commanded by the guns of the fort which now opened fire on the defenceless Englishmen. A fanatical crowd pressed near, the mosque was entered where Lieutenant Anderson lay on a cot unable to move, his hand held by Vans Agnew, himself sorely wounded.

Calmly they met their fate, "foretelling the day when thousands of Englishmen should come to avenge their death and destroy Múlráj, his army, and fortress."

The news was carried to the nearest English officer, Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, then engaged in pacifying the Bannu district. Gathering together some hastily raised Patháns, he marched against Múlráj, whom he drove back into the fortress of Múltán. In vain Herbert Edwardes appealed to the Commander-in-Chief for aid, for guns, and a mortar battery with which he might lay low the fortress. Lord Gough refused to move troops so far during the hot weather, and Edwardes was left alone to bay at Múlráj during the long summer months of 1848. The revolt spread far and wide; the Khálsa once more panted to meet the English troops, and down through the Khaibar Pass swarmed the Afgháns, for once having forgotten their religious feud in their longing to unite with the Sikhs, and drive their common foe from the Punjáb and regain possession of Pesháwar.

The Queen-Mother, detected in her intrigues against the English, was sent from Lahore to Benares. Lord Gough now found that instead of a revolt at Múltán he had the whole army of the Khálsa to deal with. From Sind, Bombay, and

ur, troops were hurried towards the Punjáb, Dalhousie publicly declaring on October 5, that if the Sikhs want war "they shall have a vengeance."

was not until January, 1849, that Múltán fell to the continued assaults of seventeen thousand men under General Whish, after forty thousand rounds of shot and shell had poured into it from seventy heavy guns.

Lord Gough the campaign opened disastrously: his ill-advised and precipitate attack on the enemy's position at Rámnagar he lost one of his regiments and some of his best officers, including Colonels Buller and Cureton. Angry at his reverse, Lord Gough did not wait for the troops from Múltán to arrive, but determined to force an action on the enemy, who now occupied a strong position at Chilián. His front covered with thick jungle interspersed with ponds and swamps through which it was impossible for either infantry or cavalry to advance in a direct line.

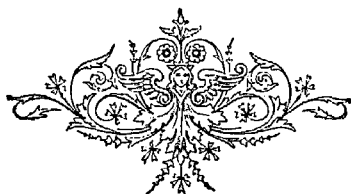
Lord Gough commenced the battle with his usual tactics. The infantry were ordered to advance and capture the enemy's guns at the point of the sword. In its efforts to gain the Sikh guns, the 24th Regiment lost its colours, 23 officers, and 459 men. Gilbert's Brigade was outflanked by the enemy, while the Dragoons, who had ridden forward at a trot, were turned round in obedience to a mistaken order, and fell before the Sikh horse which rode through the British ranks, capturing four guns. Darkness put an end to the terrible day of disaster, and though the British were forced back, the Commander-in-Chief

lost 89 of his officers, and 2,337 men were left on the field of battle wounded or dead. When the news reached home, Lord Gough was recalled, and Sir Charles Napier hurriedly despatched to succeed him as Commander-in-Chief.

It was not until eight days after the battle of Chilián-wála, that Múltán was captured, and General Whish released to join Lord Gough with over 9,000 of his men. On the 20th of February the armies faced each other for the last time in Indian history. The Sikhs, to the number of some 50,000, were strongly posted in front of the fortified town of Gújrát with sixty cannon. The English, about 20,000 faced them. For two hours and a half the ninety English guns played incessantly on the Sikh artillery, and not until it was silenced did the infantry and cavalry advance, and drive before them the Khálsa, which fled in dismay, having left behind fifty-three guns, its standards, ammunition, tents, and stores. General Gilbert, with a light force of 12,000 horse and foot, chased the retreating foe across the Punjáb, and on March 12, 1849, the last cannon was surrendered at Ráwal Pindi, where the remaining Sikh soldiers came forward and delivered up their arms.

The Punjáb, over one and a half times the area of England and Wales, was at the mercy of Lord Dalhousie, and he determined to annex it. The Mahárájá Dhulíp Singh, who died an exile in 1893, was allowed a pension of £12,000 a year, increased to one of £15,000 in 1856, and to £25,000 in 1862. A Board, consisting of Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, and Charles Greville Mansel, was formed for the

Administration of the new provinces—a system of government which drew from Sir Charles Napier the criticism, "Boards rarely have any talent," with the caustic remark that the Punjáb Board formed no exception to the general rule. The Board was finally dissolved in 1852, and John Lawrence left as Chief Commissioner to loyally serve under the iron rule of Lord Dalhousie, by whom the Sikh army was dissolved, the great chieftains shorn of their power and authority, the people disarmed and enabled, under a lenient revenue system and freedom from an oppressive taxation, to settle down to a peaceable life, free from all danger of revolution or external violence, so that when the Mutiny burst over the north of India, the Punjáb stood firm and its soldiers rode forth to fight loyally and willingly for their foreign rulers.





XIV.

THE MUTINY.

THE last great wave of conquest after having over-
swept, in its onward course, the mountain barriers of
Afghanistan, receded to leave the limits of British
firmly established over the Land of the Five
Rivers.

The first great wave on which Clive rose supreme
swept in gradually from the sea, slowly crept
along the littoral tracts down on the rich alluvial
plains of Bengal, on towards Lucknow, whence it
retreated but to gain strength for its second advance.
Fifty years later, in the days of the Marquess
Dalhousie. Pausing for a moment in its new-grown
power, it then suddenly burst forth far and wide,
overwhelmed the hosts of Haidar Ali and Tipu
Sultan, dashed from before its path the fierce
Ghazis, enfolded within its embraces the
great cities of Agra and Delhi, and bore away amid
seething waters the feeble Mughal Emperor and
proud Peshwa of Poona.

The third great wave of conquest, in the days of
the third Dalhousie, spread over one-third more of India.



SEAT OF MUTINY.
(From "Illustrated London News, 1857.")

The Punjáb was conquered and annexed, and the overweening insolence of the Burmese humbled, Tenasserim, Arakan, and Assam seized, thus leaving open the road up the river to Ava.

The many other annexations of Lord Dalhousie were the result of local and political causes, each of which must form its own justification for the course pursued. The keynote to the policy had been struck in 1834, when the Rájá of Coorg was deposed and pensioned by Lord William Bentinck on account of fiendish cruelty and misgovernment, his state in Mysore annexed, its inhabitants placed under British protection, and assured that never more would they have a native ruler placed over them. In Lord Dalhousie's time it became inevitable that Oudh, the richest garden of India, should be similarly dealt with.

Clive, on acquiring the *Diwání* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, had been content to enter into an alliance and treaty of friendship with the rulers of Oudh, to whom the advice of the Company was administered through a Resident stationed at Lucknow, the capital.

The administration was carried on by the Nawáb Wazír's own native officers, but the Company was virtually responsible for holding the state secure from invasion and free from internal revolution. It was impossible that such a system could work for long without showing its inherent weakness. The Nawáb Wazír, or, as he was afterwards styled, the King of Oudh, freed from all restraint and responsibility, and relieved from danger of revolt on the part of his subjects, gradually sank into depraved de-

ery. With listless indifference he viewed the
le which spread over the country, where the
g and callous rose to power, the weak and
ss became slaves to the greed and lust of tax-
tors and local magnates, and those alone re-
ed secure from the barbarities of marauding
and exactions of their rulers who entrenched
elves behind the mud walls of their villages.

d Wellesley declared in 1801 that nothing
save the dominions of Oudh from utter ruin
the control of the entire civil and military
rity by the Company. In 1831 Lord William
ck threatened to depose the King unless the
of the State were amended. In 1837 Lord
and drew the attention of the King to the
oppression, anarchy, and insecurity which pre-
in his dominions, and declared his intention
suming the management of the country if the
e did not cease—a proceeding which, if carried
ight have obviated the necessity of annexation.
e disapproval by the Court of Directors of this
, though communicated to Lord Auckland, was,
er, not conveyed to the King by the Governor-
al. In 1847 Lord Hardinge, in soldier-like
age, informed the King that if within two years
lministration was not reformed, the duty of the
h would be to assume the government itself.

onel Sleeman was despatched to make a pro-
d journey through Oudh, and reported, in 1851,
great crimes stain almost every acre of land in
ominions, neither age nor sex nor condition are
d." He further reported that "the soil is good

and the surface everywhere capable of tillage, with little labour or outlay"; and "that five years of good government would make it one of the most beautiful parterres in nature." In his opinion "the only alternative left appears to be for the paramount power to take upon itself the administration"; and if this were done "at least nine-tenths of the people of Oudh would hail the change as a great blessing." In 1854 Colonel Outram made a full report on the anarchy that prevailed, the vile life of the King, and the misery of the unprotected cultivators, seventy-eight of whose villages were on an average yearly burned and plundered, the inhabitants tortured, slain, or sold into slavery. His opinion was that "in upholding the sovereign power of this effete incapable dynasty, we do so at the cost of five millions of people." Yet he wrote more in pain than in anger, for "I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining native states in India so long as they retain any principle of vitality, and we can uphold them consistently with our duty as the permanent power in India, and in accordance with our treaty pledges."

In 1855 the Court of Directors finally decided that the annexation of Oudh should be carried out by Lord Dalhousie, who, on the 13th of February, 1856, recorded that, "in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt." The King Wájid Alí received a pension of £120,000 a year, and after appealing in vain through a mission

and against the sentence, withdrew from
 took up his residence in Calcutta.
 other annexations of Lord Dalhousie were
 y carried out because he considered they
 nly expedient but just.

y Hindú it is necessary that there should
 real or adoptive, to carry out the funeral
 ned by his religion as obligatory for the
 of his soul after death. The adopted son,
 nominated by the deceased or appointed
 consent by his widow, has an undoubted
 er Hindú law to succeed to the private
 of his father by adoption, but without the
 the paramount power the adopted son has
 t right to succeed to the dependent ruler-
 chieftainship of his adoptive father's terri-
 the paramount power refuse to recognise
 ion the estate lapses by default to the
 t power.

was the first state to which Lord Dalhousie
 e doctrine of lapse.

ne Maráthá war of 1818, when the power of
 vá was broken in pieces, a portion of his
 was bestowed on the last descendant of
 o was taken from prison and nominated Rájá
 with the succession continued to his "sons,
 successors."

g the Rájá was deposed and his brother
 n the chieftainship. To the brother there
 eirs, but in his last moments he adopted a
 e Court of Directors thereupon decided, in
 e with the opinion of the Governor-General,

that "we are fully satisfied that by the general law and custom of India a dependent principality like that of Sátára cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power; that we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and that the general interests committed to our charge are best considered by withholding it." Accordingly Sátára was annexed, and this policy was consistently followed out by Lord Dalhousie in other cases where he deemed that the establishment of a permanent British rule would be more conducive to the happiness and welfare of the people than a native government.

It was not until after the Mutiny that Lord Canning formally proclaimed that this policy of annexation was finally abandoned, that all friendly chiefs would be allowed for the future to pass on their succession to adopted sons.

Another annexation made by Lord Dalhousie was that of the wild hill country to the south-west of Bengal known as Sambalpur, which lapsed to the Company on the death of its ruler, who had declined to accept an heir.

The next case the Governor-General had to deal with was the Maráthá state of Jhánsí, ceded by the Peshwá in 1817, which had gone through a period of disorder and misrule during the chieftainship of its first two rulers. When the Rájá died in 1853, leaving no male heirs, Lord Dalhousie refused to acknowledge the right of the adopted son, took possession of the estate, and granted to the enraged widow a pension for her maintenance—a proceeding which implanted

the seeds of an undying hatred and treasured
of vengeance against the British Government,
she poured forth unrelentingly during her
but brilliant career in the Mutiny.

Other minor states were similarly annexed,
the most important being Nágpur, a tract now form-
ing one-fifth of the Central provinces, with 113,279
square miles of territory, and a population of twelve
lacs of people.

To the south the old title of Nawáb, or local
ruler of the Emperors at Delhi, was allowed to
survive the death, in 1855, of the last holder without
any change, Azím Jáh, being given an allowance
completely fixed at £30,000 a year.

The most noted, and the most ill-fated, of all Lord
Dalhousie's acts, was the withdrawal of the pension
of £10,000 a year from Náná Sáhíb, the adopted son
of Bájí Ráo, "the last of the Peshwás." On the
death of Bájí Ráo, Náná Sáhíb obtained the fortune
of his father by adoption, and the estate he had
inherited at Bithur, but he was deprived of the
Peshwa's life pension. Náná Sáhíb sent emissaries to
Madras, and fomented intrigues far and wide.
His part he took in the Mutiny will never be
known, except as far as it is certain that he was
responsible for the massacre of Cawnpur.

As might Lord Dalhousie write as, on the
return home, he surveyed the changes which had
come over India in his days: "During the eight
years over which we now look back the British terri-
tory in the East have been largely increased.
In that time four kingdoms have passed under

the sceptre of the Queen of England, and various chieftainships and separate tracts have been brought under her sway."

Many greater changes than these Lord Dalhousie lived to see before he left India, and many more he knew were soon to come. In 1853 his famous Railway Minute clearly indicated the main lines on which the great system of railways has been extended in India by public companies working under a State guarantee.

In 1854 Sir C. Wood, afterwards Lord Halifax, drafted the despatch which set forth a new scheme of State education in India, according to which the vernacular languages, and neither English nor the classical languages, were to be the main channel for the instruction of the native population.

The introduction of the telegraph and half-anna postage was to the bewildered gaze of the old-fashioned conservative native a sign that a new era had dawned on the East, and that for good or evil the old would soon pass away. The time seemed already drawing nigh when the habits, customs, and even religion of the foreigners might supersede the very principles on which the whole fabric of social law and order of the land had for long ages been patiently, if somewhat fantastically, built up by the cunning hands of the priestly guides, the Bráhma hierarchy, men held sacred, honoured as possessed of secret lore, and as the hereditary custodians of all the revealed ordinances of the Divine Creator.

Round about throbbed the deepest emotions which could sway the whole life of a people. To the

coming and going of their rulers mattered
ed in a land accustomed for long cen-
to ever-changing scenes of continuous
fare, to the rise and fall of principalities
all more splendid in their barbaric pomp
than the strong iron rule of the British.
Itself was ever restless, storms, famines,
e arising sudden amid profound calm
rage to and fro and then pass away
stillness of death behind. The people
ned to bow their heads before the con-
s of their invaders, and the swift, sudden
their many gods, who dwelt far away in
heavens or abode near at hand in the
, and on the thresholds of their homes.
iges the village life remained unaltered :
heeded not the passing wave of con-
age folk still listened to the legendary
they still held to the customs and occu-
their forefathers, and the power of the
ld sway.

no more than the customary amount of
s exacted it mattered not much who
nd. Of national life, national feeling,
now but little ; the people of India are
a one another by race, language, and
en more than are the Russian, German,
an, English, from one another in the

undred years the inhabitants of the land
d unmoved the growth of the English
rule of the Mughal Emperor had faded

away, the last representative lived in obscurity in his palace at Delhi, surrounded by a few retainers, and the order of the Governor-General had gone forth that on his death the child of his favourite wife would be removed from Delhi, the imperial city of his forefathers, and deprived of the title and dignity of King.

From the time when Clive defended Arcot native troops had fought willingly under the command of the English. When Siráj-ud-Daulá sealed his fate by the outrage of the Black Hole of Calcutta, Clive brought with him from Madras, where there were ten thousand sepoy, two well-drilled battalions to aid the English troops, then but some nine hundred in number. Eight years afterwards the English had disciplined nineteen battalions of Bengal sepoy, each battalion one thousand strong. Assured of the loyalty of these native troops, the rulers would keep in check the disbanded troopers and Talukdárs, hereditary rent-collectors or landlords of Oudh; they could enforce the decisions of the Inám Commissions, who had in a few years examined the titles and confiscated three-fifths of thirty-five thousand estates for want of title—estates granted to the holders by former native rulers for services rendered without any formal record; they could neglect the brooding hate of the heir to the throne of the Peshwás and silent wrath of the widowed Rání of Jhánsí, deem that the fierce soldiers of Holkar and Sindhia would cease to dream of lawless rapine and deeds of bravery, that men whose fortunes had been carved out by the sword would rejoice when naught was left them to fight for. Through all the sepoy

stand firm so long as his pay, his caste, his
ry habits and religious sentiments were left
ed, but in defence of these he had often
now calmly he could sacrifice even his life.

64, when on the eve of the battle of Baksar
ze-money demanded by the English troops
thheld from the sepoy in proportions they
red their due, their native officers came forth
only declared that their troops would not fight
coming battle. Four tall grenadiers, who had
d their comrades in many an action, and held
ght the foremost post in hours of peril, now
forward and claimed the privilege of dying
those condemned to death for mutiny. They
ed to guns and blown to pieces. Twenty-four
sepoy had the same retribution meted out to
y the unflinching command of Major Hector
who knew the danger that lurked beneath
n not speedily repressed.

Vellore, in 1806, the sepoy, roused by insults
childish repressions, again rose in mutiny,
red their officers and the European soldiers
red in the fort, only to fall themselves, slain
h the sabres of Gillespie's dragoons. The same
f warning had again and again been sounded;
poy stolidly and consistently showing that,
as they were to fight for the English, they
not tamely brook interference with their
ned rights, habits, and beliefs.

47th had been mowed down rather than sail
the black waters during the first Burmese war;
th had been struck off the army list sooner than

march to Sind without receiving extra allowance ; the 66th had been disbanded for refusing to serve in the Punjáb without extra pay. Lord Dalhousie had to acknowledge the right of the 38th to refuse to embark for service in Arakan during the second Burmese war, while Lord Canning found, to his surprise, that nine-twelfths of the whole Bengal army could absolutely refuse to serve beyond the seas.

Sir Charles Napier resigned his office as Commander-in-Chief when Lord Dalhousie refused to acknowledge the necessity for exceptional treatment of the troops in the Punjáb. The Governor-General at the time wrote as follows : " There is no justification for the cry that India was in danger. Free from all threats of hostilities from without, and secure, through the submission of its new subjects, from insurrection within, the safety of India has never for one moment been imperilled by the partial insubordination in the ranks of the army." This view was supported by the Duke of Wellington in his memorandum on the matter : " A close examination of the papers sent to me by Sir Charles Napier himself, with his report of the transaction, convinced me that there was no mutiny of the troops at Wazírábád in December, 1849, and January, 1850. There were murmurings and complaints, but no mutiny. But it appears, according to Sir Charles Napier's statement, that there existed in the country a general mutiny, which pervaded the whole army of 40,000 men in the Punjáb in the month of January, 1850."

Vigorous and triumphant as the policy of Lord Dalhousie was there were not a few who saw the

ments of danger in the rapid changes that had taken place during his administration. A period of time was needed to allow both the people and their rulers to determine to what extent the ideals and principles of Western progress and development might with advantage and safety be introduced into the East. Lord Palmerston had, in 1855, expressed hope not unlonged for by many, when, at the banquet given by the Court of Directors, he announced that perhaps it might be our lot to confer on the countless millions of India a higher and nobler gift than mere human knowledge"—a gift that, with a view rising above criticism, English officers had endeavoured to induce their sepoy to accept. "I have been in the habit," declared an English officer in 1857, "of speaking to natives of all classes, sepoy and others, making no distinction, since there is no respect of persons with God, on the subject of our religion, in the highways, cities, bazaars, and villages, not in the lines and regimental bazaars. I have done this from a conviction that every converted Christian is expected, or rather commanded by the scriptures, to make known the glad tidings of salvation to his fellow creatures."

Many more forcible instances might be given of commanders and administrators seeking to spread abroad the faith in which they found their surest place in this world and firmest hopes of a hereafter, were it not for the fact that it is absolutely impossible that any scheme devised for the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity could affect their feelings of good or ill-will.

To the majority of the natives of India, who are all sunk in superstition, animism, and fetishism, the subject of religion, as apart from social observances, has but little meaning or interest, while for the educated class all discussion on the subject is received with open-minded candour, so long as no effort is made to interfere with their customs and social relations.

Thus the law proposed by Lord Dalhousie and passed by Lord Canning to encourage the remarriage of Hindú widows, a law striving to alter a custom founded on religious sentiment, was destined to remain a dead letter and of but little practical importance.

There were dangers, far deeper and independent of these, known to all men, yet when they came those who had watched their growth were unprepared to meet them. In February, 1856, Dalhousie had spoken warning words in Calcutta with reference to the fatal insurrection when he said, "No prudent man bringing any knowledge of Eastern affairs would ever venture to predict a prolonged continuance of peace in India—insurrection may rise like an exhalation from the earth, and cruel violence worse than all the excesses of war, may be suddenly committed by men up to the very day on which they broke out in their frenzy of blood, have been regarded as a simple, harmless and timid race." In August, 1855, Lord Canning, at the farewell banquet given by the directors, sent his hearers away wondering at the immunity of his words, as he gave warning that we must not forget that in the sky of India, serene

is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which growing bigger and bigger may at last threaten to overwhelm us with

When Lord Canning reached India he found there but 45,332 European troops to 233,000 sepoy, 12,000 native gunners to 6,500 European, while the 750 miles stretching from Barrackpur to Agra, there was only one European regiment at Dinápur.

Lord Dalhousie's remonstrances, minutes, and warnings had been neglected, two European regiments had been withdrawn for service in the Crimea, and replaced; others had been sent to the Persian Gulf under Sir James Outram to force the Sháh to retire from Herát.

Strange stories came from the Crimea: it was rumoured that the English had been defeated by the Russians, who was now prepared to invade India. A proclamation was posted on the walls of the Jumma Masjid at Delhi, in which all true Muhammadans were called upon to be ready to join an army, soon to be sent by the Sháh of Persia to restore the true faith and drive the English out of India. Among the people it was whispered that it had been prophesied of old that a white race should rule for one hundred years in the sacred land of India, and that now the days were numbered up since the field of Plassey. Rumours of all kinds flew with winged speed. All men knew that strange things were happening of which they hesitated to speak; midnight meetings of the sepoy were held by sudden and sullen disrespect towards British officers. Náná Sáhib was passing to and fro from

Bithúr to Kalpi, to Delhi and Lucknow. A learned Múlví from Faizábád in Oudh had journeyed through Delhi, Meerut, Patná, and Calcutta, preaching sedition, deftly weaving the hidden threads of a widespread conspiracy before the very eyes of the English officers, who smiled at the superstitious ways of the people who were sending Chápatis, or small pieces of unleavened bread, from village to village, none knowing why or by whose order, but all feeling that some strange secret was abroad in their midst.

Louder grew the rumours; the sepoy's spoke out their fears that the English desired to break down their laws of caste and customs so that they might sail over the seas and conquer the world. All might have passed without history knowing of the strange story were it not that the whole edifice of folly was crowned by a stupendous blunder, fraught with fatal consequences.

The old "Brown Bess" musket had been discarded for the English rifle, which required specially greased cartridges. Some cartridges had been sent out from England, some were manufactured at Calcutta and at Meerut. Suddenly, from January, 1857, the news spread like wildfire that the cartridges had been greased with the fat of pigs and cows—the first an animal abhorred by all Muhammadans and even English people residing in the East, the last an animal held sacred by all Hindús, the slaying of which is even to-day prohibited in many purely native states and resented so much by the Sikhs from sentiment, and not from religious feeling, that it was accounted one of the primary causes of

second Sikh war. It was impossible to retrieve blunder, it was impossible to explain it away or assure the natives that no such cartridges would in future be issued, that the sepoys might manufacture their own cartridges or have full proof that no cutting material would be used.

Panic spread, carefully fomented by the cunning of the discontented.

At Barrackpur fires broke out in the cantonments and civil lines; at Berhampur, 120 miles to the north of Calcutta, the 19th Native Infantry flatly refused to receive even the percussion caps served out to them on parade, and the anger of their commanding officer, Colonel Mitchell only increased their suspicions.

At Barrackpur Colonel Hearsey endeavoured to quell the excitement of his troops, the 34th Native Infantry. He assured them that they might grease their own cartridges, that it was childish to suppose the Government had any desire to interfere with their caste or religion: his words fell on unbelieving ears.

In Calcutta the news was received with consternation; plots had been discovered whereby the fort was to be seized by the natives and all the English murdered during a garden-fête to be given by Mahārājā Dhia at the Botanical Gardens across the Húgli—not supposed to have been frustrated by the rain falling and the proposed fête-day being abandoned.

From Calcutta to Dinápur, some 300 miles away, there was but a single English regiment on which the safety of Bengal depended. The 84th was hastily

summoned from Rangoon while the 19th Native Infantry, having on its muster 400 high caste Bráhmans, was, on March 31st, paid off and disbanded, the sepoy, as they marched away vowing vengeance on the 34th Native Infantry, who had told them the story of the polluted cartridges.

Two days before a young sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry, Manghal Pándi, marched out in front of the Quarter Guard and fired at his adjutant, whom he cut down with his sword. As the two struggled on the ground, only one single Muhammadan out of all the assembled sepoy, came to the assistance of the English officer. If the promptitude and presence of mind displayed on the occasion by the commanding officer, Colonel Hearsey, had been afterwards shown at Meerut, the Mutiny would have been quickly checked. Having heard the news he hastily rode down with his two sons to the parade-ground. As he approached, cries of warning came that the sepoy was taking aim: "Damn his musket!" cried the colonel, who turned and charged his son, in case he fell, to ride the mutineer down. Manghal Pándi waited not; grounding his gun he placed his foot on the trigger and fell wounded to the ground. On the 8th of April he was hanged in front of the regiment, which was disbanded towards the end of the month. By many it was considered that a fatal leniency had been shown, especially in the case of some of the sepoy, who had struck their adjutant when he was attacked by Manghal Pándi.

Meanwhile the panic spread to Ambála, one thousand miles from Calcutta. There the sepoy

the morning the marauding bands crept back to city and neighbouring villages, and the garrison left to gather together the mutilated corpses of slain in the theatre of the station.

The sepoy, terrified by their deeds, escaped to their homes; the cavalry rode on to Delhi, there to claim the effete King once more Emperor of India. The overwhelming force at Meerut took no vengeance on the guilty city, nor were the mutineers ordered to Delhi, which was left to its fate.

Early in the morning of the 11th of May the British cavalry bivouacked in the Diwán-i-Am, or the Hall of Audience, at Delhi, where they clamoured the aged Emperor Bahádur Sháh to claim his throne and receive their homage, for the English garrison at Meerut had been defeated.

Captain Douglas, the commandant of the palace, Mr. Jennings, the chaplain, his daughter and son staying with them, were soon slain; Mr. Fraser, Commissioner, was cut down in the palace at the top of the stairs, his head paraded through the streets and carried to the Mughal Emperor, that he might witness the fall of the English rule.

A messenger flashed the news to Ambála, the signaller ordered to fly before the mutineers the moment he received the message.

The English bungalows were burned, the Delhi was sacked, Mr. Taylor, the principal, and his family killed, and men, women, and children were ordered out and murdered. Mr. Beresford, of the Bank, with his wife and two daughters bravely defended themselves with spears on the roof of their

home until at length they were slain, thus escaping the insults, torments and cruel death which awaited those who were captured and murdered afterwards on the 13th and 16th of May, when nigh on fifty captives were ruthlessly butchered in the palace.

Colonel Ripley marched his sepoy, those of the 54th Native Infantry, from their cantonments on the ridge outside Delhi against the mutineers in the city; but as he gave the order to charge he was cut down, and received fifteen wounds; of his officers, Captains Smith and Burrows, Lieutenants Edwards and Waterfield, and Dr. Dopping were killed, and Captain Gordon, of the 74th, fell shot through the heart.

The 38th Native Regiment, now also openly mutinous, deserted to join the rebel camp in the city. On the ridge the English officers, the rescued women and children, were grouped together in the flagstaff tower, doubting if it were better to fly or wait for aid from Meerut or Agra. Suddenly from the city a vast column of black smoke rushed upward, and the flames leaped high, throwing a lurid light far and wide, followed by a mighty roar, the signal to the survivors that for them no longer remained any hope. Lieutenant Willoughby and his garrison of eight heroes, sooner than yield their charge, had blown up the powder magazine, and scattered death and destruction amid the mass of natives who swarmed on and around its wall. Of those who escaped from the city by being lowered from its ramparts, and of those who hurried from the flagstaff tower, many fled to the open country, to be there slain by the villagers;

ers, men bleeding from many wounds, women
ying infants but a few months old, slowly stole on
ng the night-time or else wearily wandered on in
daytime, bareheaded and barefooted, faint beneath
rning sun, sometimes beaten, sometimes insulted,
asionally meeting with kindness, and snatching a
y meal stealthily brought to them by those natives
deplored their forlorn condition but feared to
them openly. At length, after many days and
ts of pain, they were released from their suffering
death or else happily found refuge among friends
Agra, Karnál, or Ambála. Delhi was left in the
ds of the rebels, where the aged Emperor again
on the throne of his forefathers, whence he issued
eeble orders to the troops who, under the nominal
mand of Mírza Mughal, the Emperor's son,
ed all authority, pillaged, robbed and plundered
merchants, bringing back to the people memories
he old days when Nádir Sháh devastated their

When the news reached Ambála the Commander-
chief, General Anson, had to wait nearly a month
re he could assemble together 3,800 troops, it
g found even then absolutely impossible to collect
necessary transport.

re the avenging army reached Karnál on the 27th
May, General Anson was seized with cholera and
. It was not until the 8th of June that the small
y, now under General Barnard, reached Badlíki-
í, six miles from Delhi, where they found the
ineers strongly entrenched, and determined to
ute the passage by the Trunk Road.

The Europeans, 3,000 in number, supported by one battalion of Gúrkhas and twenty-four guns, drove the enemy back into Delhi, and captured twenty-six of their guns. Unable to enter the city, the British troops took up their position along the historic ridge running two miles to the north and west of the fort, within range of the heavy guns, howitzers and mortars of the mutineers. To assault the fort was found impossible. Eight thousand sepoy, well drilled, well provisioned, with more than enough guns, stood entrenched behind the massive masonry walls, 12 feet thick, seven miles in extent, strengthened by numerous bastions, each holding ten to fourteen heavy pieces of artillery, surrounded by a wide, dry ditch 24 feet deep. To the mutineers new allies flocked daily, until by the end of June the force at Delhi reached a total of 30,000, watched by a British army of 6,500 men.

The Europeans could do little but entrench themselves, hold the ridge, and wait anxiously for reinforcements from Calcutta, nine hundred miles away, or from the Punjáb, where John Lawrence had 10,000 Europeans in twelve regiments, 36,000 Bengal sepoy, and 20,000 irregular Punjáb troops and police.

Small hope of help from the Bengal sepoy, for of seventy-four infantry regiments but six remained true. In the Punjáb John Lawrence could do little more than maintain his position, secure the arsenal at Ferozpur with its siege train and stores of ammunition, disarm his native troops, or if they mutinied attack and disperse them.

In Oudh Sir Henry Lawrence was left to face some

sons of native troops with one British
e at Allahábád, the key to the disturbed
epoy regiments mutinied on the 8th of

e of India there were but 39,000 British
225,000 more or less disaffected sepoys.
l upwards of 30,000 soldiers were sent ;
r, Ceylon, and Madras troops were
hile Lord Elgin hastened to land the
for the China war. Amid the clamour
ounsel, and hasty cries for indiscriminate
inst the whole native race, Lord Canning
d resolute. Well was it for England
ernn hour when her foster-children went
claimed that they were not of her kith
ound one man strong enough to stand
claim, " I will not govern in anger. . . .
low an angry and indiscriminating act
ceed from the Government of India as
esponsible for it."

to dim the glory of the picture by
e squabblings of piqued volunteers and
men, when Lord Canning faced India
n Nágpur to Bombay, from Simla to
when John Lawrence, Edwardes, and
d the Punjáb safe in the hollow of their
Henry Lawrence did his duty at Luck-
e names of Havelock and Outram will
ated, by all those who boast of British
e memories of undying deeds ; when
uncomplainingly laid down his head
in the fort of Agra to die, wearied

any troubles and lapsed hopes ; when Colin
 all, cautious and careful, slowly and surely
 the mutineers before him ; when Sir Hugh
 Baron Strathnairn, of Strathnairn and Jhánsi,
 through Central India with lightning speed,
 down almost impenetrable fortresses just
 of cards falls at the touch of a hand " !

imate success Canning never doubted, though
 day came news of fresh and overwhelming

ta had at the outbreak of the Mutiny
 English regiment, there being none other
 than Dinápur, where three sepoy regiments
 on the 25th of July. At Arrah, twenty-
 es to the west of Dinápur, the Europeans,
 number, with six Eurasians, sent off their
 and children, and took refuge in a small
 storied billiard-house, the front verandah of
 had been bricked up without mortar or
 by Vicars Boyle, a railway engineer. Fifty
 ere sent to their assistance, the command
 ken by Herwald Wake the magistrate. On
 ing of the 27th of July the siege commenced.
 tineers of the 7th, 8th, and 46th Native
 aided by levies under Kunwar Singh, a
 ndowner, surrounded the billiard-room and
 ced the assault.

ext day two small cannons were brought to
 the weak walls, mines were sunk, fires lighted
 of chillies thrown on them in the hope that
 would carry the suffocating smoke to the
 and force them out ; still the little band held

ing sorties every now and again to drive the assailants or destroy the mines, while those in the fort remained busy digging a well for water and saving bullets.

On the night of the 29th, 415 British soldiers and guns, under Captain Dunbar, hurried to the aid of the garrison at Dinápur. They fell into an ambuscade, were driven back with fearful slaughter, and only fifty men and three officers escaped to sail down the river to bring the news of the disaster to the weeping and despairing garrison at Dinápur.

Colonel Boyle held out in their bungalow against the five mutineers until the 2nd of August, when Lieutenant Eyre of the Bengal Artillery, on his way from Calcutta to Allahábád, turned aside with his company, 154 men of the 5th Fusiliers, 18 volunteers and others—in all 320 men—drove the rebels from before Arrah at the point of the bayonet and relieved the heroic garrison.

Benares, the Holy City of Pilgrimage for all sects, whose very ground is counted so sacred that the outcast foreigner dying within ten miles of it is deemed worthy of a future home in the arms of the gods, the garrison of three sepoy regiments in the absence of any European soldiers, fell into disorder and wild excitement spread to the fanatic inhabitants of the city until, on the 1st of June, Colonel Neill, hurried up from Allahábád with his "Lambs," the 1st Madras Fusiliers, met the rebels and kept the city quiet, meting out to the guilty a stern and unrelenting vengeance. He then moved on at Allahábád, at the junction of the

Ganges and Jumna, 809 miles from Calcutta by river, and 503 miles by road, where there were again no European soldiers, the sepoy had broken out and murdered fourteen of their officers. Lieutenant Brasyer, with 65 European invalid artillery, a small body of Sikhs and 100 European volunteers stubbornly held the fort until Neill and 40 of his "Lambs" came up from Benares, seven of whom fell dead on the road as they staggered on beneath the blazing rays of a June sun. Allahábád was saved, the mutineers punished with terrible severity, peace restored, and Neill left free to gather in supplies and turn his attention to his beloved fusiliers who were dying of sunstroke, cholera, and drink.

To advance further was impossible ; reinforcements were needed, bullocks and native followers could not be obtained. At Cawnpur, 125 miles higher up the river on the south of the Ganges, forty-two miles southwest of Lucknow, Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, seventy-five years of age, fifty of which had been spent in service in India, was in charge with three sepoy regiments and but sixty European artillerymen.

Náná Sáhib, the adopted son of the last Peshwá of the Maráthás, resided a few miles away on his estate at Bithúr, his heart full of hatred against the English, who had refused to continue to him the pension held to have lapsed on the death of his adoptive father.

To the English officers at Cawnpur Náná Sáhib was well known—they had visited him, dined, hunted, driven, and played billiards with him ; all were assured of his friendly loyalty.

When at length the bitter truth dawned on Sir

celer that his sepoy's were not to be trusted, and for defence. A mud wall four feet high was thrown up round two thatched bungalows and hospitals, where the garrison determined to hold themselves. The cantonments and magazine were unprotected, and messages for aid sent to Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow and to Náná Sáhib at Kanpur. Provisions were hastily collected, gaps were made in the mud wall to receive ten guns, and by the morning the doomed garrison of 465 men, including 100 invalids, with 200 women and 200 children, were themselves surrounded by 3,000 mutineers headed by Náná Sáhib's Commander-in-Chief, Baksh Singh. For twenty-one days the garrison held out; within the first week all the artillery was killed or disabled. The thatched hospitals, where the wounded lay, were fired by red-hot shells; beneath the shattered walls crouched women and children; along the broken-down rampment the men fought on, while from the top the iron hail of shot and shell ceased not. The mutineers found courage to charge over the embankment they were again and again repulsed by the heroic band now weakened by hunger, and thirst. Round the only well the water was pumped, and many a brave soul fell when it was his turn in drawing water.

General Havelock at Lucknow came no help, Neill was powerless at Allahábád. The men at Cawnpur fought their way through the surrounding country, but then they would have had to leave the women and children behind. On the 27th of June

the despairing garrison entered into a treaty with Náná Sáhib, who agreed to let them march out with their arms and sixty rounds of ammunition to each man, and promised them safe conduct down the river to Allahábád. In the early morning of the 27th of June the wounded men and wearied women were carried to the boats drawn up at the Satí Chaura ghát on the banks of the Ganges, one mile to the north-west of the entrenchments, where the craven coward Tántia Topi had concealed sepoys and guns along the river-banks, with orders to open fire on the men, women, and children they could not conquer and feared to face.

When the unsuspecting victims were huddled together in the leaf-thatched native boats, deeming they had at length escaped from the horrors that had for so long crowded round them, a bugle sound from the banks gave the signal for attack.

The straw-thatched roofs of the boats, amid which burning embers had been cunningly concealed, were soon in flames; the native oarsmen fled, and all efforts to shove the heavy budgerows from the bank were found unavailing. The guns poured forth a withering storm of grape, many were shot, many perished amid the flames, many were cut to pieces by the riverside. Those who survived were brought back to Náná Sáhib at Cawnpur, two officers, Mowbray-Thomson and Delafosse, with two privates, Murphy and Sullivan, alone escaped, after many weird adventures by swimming six miles down the river to Oudh. Of the survivors brought to Náná Sáhib the men were instantly shot, and, on the

words to Outram, the Bayard of India, can
heard the weird, solemn echo from the limits
s tether: "I have for forty years so ruled my
t when death comes I might face it without
Stern, serious, and reserved, he had early in
ed the Baptists, his wife being daughter of the
Serampur missionary, the Rev. Dr. Marshman.
diers whom he not only sternly disciplined
mostlly prayed with, were well known in those
"Havelock's Saints," and, though sneered at
r piety, were wondered at for their unswerving
ess and cool courage. Sir H. Harding, who
atched the deep earnestness and unfaltering
of Havelock's life, took full measure of the
hen he declared that, "if ever India should
danger, the Government have only to put
ck at the head of an army and it will be

y a fight had Havelock fought; at Khurd
Jalálábád, Mahárájpur, Múdkí, Firozsháh,
braon, to find himself a Colonel in 1854, after
o years' service, and a Major-General in 1857
ge of sixty-two, with the one ambition that
er fired his soul—the ambition of command-
army in the field—unattained. There was
paign in the world's history the full details of
he had not mastered, and the leading move-
of which he had not panted to put in

y from the war in Persia he landed at
a on the 17th of June, and was introduced to
vernor-General by Sir Patrick Grant the new

under-in-Chief who had travelled with him to Madras, as the man who was to save the British at Cawnpur, and Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. By the time Havelock reached Allahábád on the 30th of June, the garrison at Cawnpur had fallen, but, not knowing the sad news, the relieving force on the 7th of July, commenced their march for the relief of Cawnpur and Lucknow. Havelock was at the head of some 1,500 Europeans and a little band of volunteer cavalry under Captain Renaud, Major Renaud having started beforehand, on the 30th of June, with two guns, 400 men of the 6th Fusiliers and 84th Regiment, with 300 Sikhs. This small army strode on to meet death from the effects of sunstroke, cholera, and disease—for but 250 men crossed the Ganges for Lucknow—the news came back from Renaud's advance column that Cawnpur had fallen.

There were men in the relieving force who knew they were to fight—men of Neill's "God-forgotten men"; men of the 78th, the Ross-shire Buffs, who could listen in stern silence to the long-spun appeals of Havelock, but who swore in wild oaths to take a terrible revenge on the murderers of the British men and children at Cawnpur; men of the 84th who had served with Wellington, and 100 of whose men were at Cawnpur and Lucknow; men of the 6th whom Havelock had commanded in Persia; the 15th's Sikhs and Maude's artillery who, when the bullocks broke down, dragged their guns on their backs to the front. There was the plucky band of badly-mounted volunteers under Captain

w, who waited not for the order to charge, but straight through the sepoy's amid the cheers of Lock and his regulars. Cholera moved among the sun pitilessly slew them ; still they fought. On the 13th of July, at Fatehpur, they won for Lock his first battle, scattered the sepoy's in four fights, and captured eleven guns ; on the 15th pushed the sepoy entrenchments, but Renaud fell, and no more ; the same afternoon they crossed a bridge over the Pándú Nádí, and charged into the midst of the rebel gunners, for nothing could stay

Though the garrison at Cawnpur was now known to have been massacred, the news had come that the women and children were alive, and, with Lock, the soldiers cried, "With God's help we will save them, or every man of us die in the attempt."

Beyond Maharájpur Náná Sáhib came out with his guns and 5,000 of his troops, and arranged his ranks in a crescent one mile and a quarter across the road to Cawnpur, where he bid defiance to Lock's 20 gentlemen volunteers, 1,100 infantry, 500 Sikhs. While the Fusiliers and Barrow's Regiment of cavalry drew the fire of the enemy's guns, the left was rolled in by the Ross-shire Buffs, and charged down in slow, swinging run on the rebels, and hurled the rebel sepoy's before them, stopping only for a moment to cheer the gentlemen volunteers as they dashed down the Trunk Road in the midst of the enemy's sowars.

The weary, sunstricken soldiers had to press on, and in the distance the mutineers had rallied, and

Náná Sáhib rode in front of them on an elephant. The daring band of Englishmen, hardly able to carry the weight of their muskets, had to pause and crouch on the ground while over their heads the cannon balls came hissing. The captured guns had been left behind, and Maude's battery could no longer advance. "Rise up," cried Havelock, "the longer you look at it, the less you will like it! The 64th rushed forward, led by Major Stirling and headed by Lieutenant Havelock, the General's son and aide-de-camp, for which he got the Victoria Cross; in the rear the ground was strewn with wounded, and the enemy broke in total rout. Náná Sáhib galloped off in haste, for he knew the hated Feringhi soldiers who had so wildly fought their way from Allahábád were hurrying to view, with maledictions against his name, the well at Cawnpur, where the women and children lay asleep. Cawnpur was gained; the British soldiers wandered over the entrenchments, wondering how the garrison had held out, and how frail women had so heroically borne their part in the unequal conflict.

In the well of Cawnpur lay the uncovered remains of 118 women and 92 children, brutally murdered.

The wrath of General Neill was terrible and not to be stayed, for, as he wrote, "My object was to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, and barbarous deed, and to strike terror into the rebels. No one who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends."

Still the task was not finished; news came from

now that Sir Henry Lawrence was dead, and in overwhelming numbers the rebels swarmed and the Residency.

The Ganges rolled between and had to be bridged ; and, the rice-fields were flooded, the rain fell in torrents. Yet Havelock and his force, now 1,500 men, of whom 1,200 were Europeans, twelve guns, and two troops of mounted infantry, marched on the 20th of July for the relief of Lucknow—a seemingly hopeless task. By the time the advanced Oudh sepoys were driven back to Unáo, nine miles out, and again from Bashí-
náj, six miles further on, the gallant band had lost one-sixth of its European force, the enemy still in front, Lucknow was surrounded with
s, and cholera and dysentery were mowing down Havelock's troops. If any further advance took place it was certain that not a man would have been able to reach the Bailey Guard Gate at Lucknow. The gallant band had to sullenly and sadly retreat back to Cawnpur. On the 4th of August another attempt was again essayed, but to fail ; again on the 11th of August a final struggle was made, the enemy beaten back a third time from Bashí-
náj, and Havelock had to recognise the impossibility of the task he had undertaken.

One more fight had to be fought by the wearied troops, who, on the 16th of August, advanced to Mirrá, where they gained a brilliant victory over the rallied sepoys of Náná Sáhíb. In the midst of Havelock's struggles the bitter news came that his command had passed to Major-General Sir Jame

the duty of relieving Lucknow
by right of seniority.

ward of India, was not the man to
chivalrous nature prompted him.
pur on the 13th of September, he
as order in which he waived his
the beleaguered garrison: "The
erefore, in gratitude for, and ad-
illiant deed of arms achieved by
Havelock and his gallant troops,
ive his rank in favour of that
asion, and will accompany the force
his Civil capacity as Chief Com-
tendering his Military Services to
Havelock as a volunteer. On the
the Major-General will resume his
ad of the Forces."

September Havelock rode out at
ell-equipped force of 2,388 Euro-
r 100 volunteer horsemen under
ery under Maude, Olpherts, and
Cooper of the Bengal Artillery in
h infantry, and 59 native cavalry.
his profound contempt for the
er drawing his sword during the
only to his gold-headed malacca
he dealt sounding blows on the
g sepoy.

day's march had ended the rebels
through Mangalwár, past Bashírat-
nd of the second day the booming
acknow could be heard.

of the gardens of the large square enclosure as the Alambágh, were in sight. In the long line of mutineers. While Eyre drove in the enemy's centre and they captured the Alambágh, and chased across the Charbágh Bridge spanning the river beyond which lay Lucknow. When the work was at last over the glad news cheered soldiers that Delhi had fallen.

15th of May, when Captain Henry Daly of the Mardán, having covered 580 miles in his marches, at the head of 800 Guerilla soldiers had poured towards the ridge at Delhi, just there were there assembled 8,748 men and 3,317 were Europeans.

Sháháwar John Lawrence had sent 300 artillerymen, 1,200 hastily raised Sikh riflemen, he even hesitated if he should send Sháháwar over to the Afghán monarch, he had, and send all his regular troops depending on 7,000 faithful levies of the Punjab and Nábhá and the Mahárájá of the Punjab by 1,000 Sikhs, to hold the Punjab. He wrote Edwardes in hasty expostulation, "I have no more men from the Punjab." "Everything," wrote Nicholson, "but Pesháwar and Múltán." "Hold on to Pesháwar," he answered from Calcutta.

He held on to the Punjab, but he determined his last stake. Leaving himself but a few troops, he sent his "Movable Column" to the front, and on the 14th of August

THE MONTH.
conquered swordsman, terrible in his
ing in his vengeance, held in veneration
opposers, and worshipped as the very
the God of War by the wild Sikh
wards the ridge at the head of 2,500
follow their leader up to the very

September siege guns, waggons, and
ough to grind "Delhi to powder," were
sixteen elephants from Firozpur.

On 6th 3,300 effective British troops,
and 2,500 soldiers sent by loyal allies,
Delhi, there being in hospital over 3,000
wounded. By the 13th the city walls were
before daybreak of the 14th of Sep-
tember marched to the assault.

At column a brave band of heroes crept
the powder-bags on the spikes of the
to blow it to pieces. Sergeant Car-
ter fired the train and fell dead; Lieutenant
Nicholson seized the match, and then fell, shot
in the arm and leg; Corporal Burgess fell mor-
tally wounded; he fired the train; Lieutenant Home,
Major Hawthorne then sounded three
times, and over the rebels who had been
by the explosion the column charged through
the breach and entered the city. The second
column, by the water bastion, while the first
under Nicholson, swarmed up the breach
under guard. As Nicholson's tall form
appeared in the narrow streets waving his sword to
lead forward against a gun that swept

to fell, wounded to death. With
ers and 1,085 men were slain in the
, the siege itself, which lasted from
to the 20th of September, having
1,511 Europeans and 1,686 natives,
on our side.

the last Emperor of the Mughals,
the tomb of his ancestor, Humáyún,
in Delhi. Thither rode Hodson, of
born leader of wayward spirits, un-
lofty disdain and cold contempt of
halting prudence. He seized the
id his wavering attendants, brought
i, and delivered him up to justice.
ut to the tomb and captured the
as he led them towards Delhi he
on the public road, alleging that
wd might attempt a rescue.

was tried for rebellion, treason, and
rted a State prisoner to Rangoon,
the 7th of November, 1862, being
ht-time near his bungalow, so that
the resting-place of the last of the
perors.

avclock were, on the 23rd of Sep-
Alambágh, when the news reached
of Delhi. There the reserve am-
and baggage, wounded and sick of
e were left behind, under a guard
ps, the main body pressing on for
on the 25th of September, for the

v.

In an attack on the Yellow House by the Char-bágh Bridge, Outram was shot through the arm, and Maude lost his best artillerymen. Here the first serious check came, for the bridge was swept by six guns strongly posted and entrenched. From the neighbouring houses by the canal-sides the mutineers kept up a heavy fire of musketry. Maude's two guns, now worked by volunteer artillerymen, opened fire across the bridge at 150 yards' range, and here some of his gunners were blown to pieces, the fire from their own guns having exploded their powder pouches. At all costs the bridge had to be carried. The Madras Fusiliers and 84th were eager to charge. Young Havelock, Arnold, and Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser Tytler advanced amid a storm of grape from the heavy guns; Arnold fell shot through both thighs, Tytler and his horse were seen struggling on the ground, and Havelock alone was left to cheer on the Fusiliers as they sprang forward to clear the way. The bridge taken, the 78th Highlanders held it while the army of relief crossed by the right bank of the canal, and made their way towards the Secundra Bágh under a heavy fire from the Múti Masjid and the Mess House, until they found themselves face to face with a battery posted in front of the Kaisarbágh or King's Palace. As the main body hesitated, the 78th, who had left the bridge and marched by a short route to the left through the crowded streets, suddenly dashed forward on the flank of the battery, spiked the guns and cut down the rebel gunners. In front of the now combined force lay the narrow streets leading

the Bailey Guard of the Residency. On each of the high houses were full of sepoy to the house-
the cross-alleys were crowded with desperate

utram vehemently protested against the fatal
h almost into the valley of death until at length
turned away and cried out to Havelock to lead
the troops "in God's name."

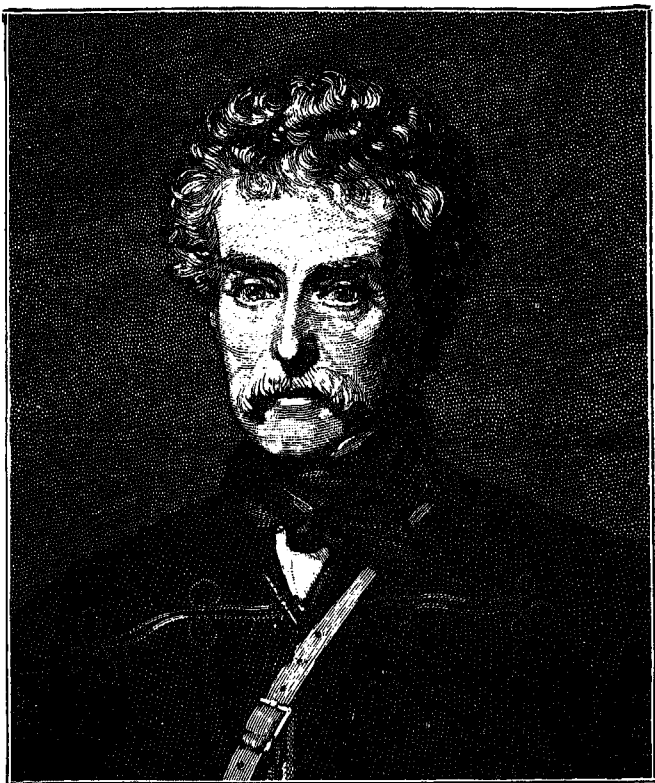
From the housetops, from the windows, from the
-streets, there poured an unrelenting fire on the
ted band, who could only stay now and then to
a volley through the side-alleys held by masses
poys and infuriated women.

utram, on his big Australian horse, was the first
cramble through a breach on the left of the
y Guard, and in a moment "big, rough-bearded
ers," writes a lady, one of the survivors of the
son, "were seizing the little children out of our
kissing them with tears rolling down their
ks, and thanking God that they had come in
to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpur."

the besieged Havelock brought no supplies, his
and baggage had been left at the Alambagh.
provisions in the Residency were, however, found
e much larger than had been reported. The
ces were extended, and thereby necessarily
ened, being more exposed to the mining opera-

The garrison was reinforced but not relieved.
Relief of Lucknow had yet to come—a relief to
fected by Colin Campbell.

Colin Campbell—Old Khabarder, or Old Take-
as his soldiers loved to call him—was on



SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, LORD CLYDE.

11th of July, 1857, asked when he could start for England to take the chief command in India. "To-morrow," he curtly replied. He was then sixty-years of age. He had seen service in the American War of 1812-14, in the second Sikh war of 1838-9, he had commanded the Highland Brigade in Crimea, at Alma, and Balaklava. On the 17th August, 1857, he landed at Calcutta to take chief command. "No advance will take place without me," he wrote to Outram on the 28th of September, "even if I have to be made with a single regiment," and to the Duke of Cambridge he afterwards added, "The desperate street-fighting so gallantly conducted by Sir James Outram and General Havelock—the only chance open to them—must, if possible, be avoided in the future." It was not, however, until the 3rd of November that the Commander-in-Chief reached Cawnpur, where he placed himself at the head of a small army of 10,000 men and 30 guns. Nearly 2,500 of these were composed of Colonel Greathed's column, which had marched from Delhi and driven 7,000 of Sindhia's rebellious troops from before Agra. At Cawnpur he sent General Windham with 500 English troops and 1,000 native infantry and gunners to hold the cantonments and bridge of boats across the Ganges and to check the rebel force from Gwalior and Kalpi. On the 10th of November Colin Campbell was met by Lucknow Kavanagh, who nobly won the Victoria Cross by passing from the Residency disguised as a native and making his way through 10,000 rebels, massed in and around the city, to convey plans and news from Outram to the Com-

mandar-in-Chief. Instead of advancing straight through Lucknow Sir Colin Campbell fought his way by the suburbs, captured the Dilkusha, or Palace of Heart's Delight, and the Martinière College, a building erected by a French officer of fortune, Claude Martin. The Secundra Bâgh, a square 450 feet each way, held by the rebels, was carried by the 93rd Highlanders, the 53rd, and 4th Punjab Rifles, who slew 2,500 of the best fighting men in Oudh, a brigade of three full regiments.

The Shâh Najaf, a strong domed mosque, with thick, heavy walls forty feet high, held out against the English cannonade for the whole afternoon, until Captain Peel, of the *Shannon*, and his British sailors came to the rescue, and in the words of the Commander-in-Chief's despatch "the heavy guns were within 20 yards of the Shâh Najaf, where they were unlimbered and poured in round after round against the massive walls of the building, the withering fire of the Highlanders covering the naval brigade from great loss. But it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate." A breach was at length made, but when Adrian Hope and fifty of his men climbed in they found the building deserted.

On the 17th the Mess Hovee, after six hours' fighting, was carried by a detachment of the 53rd and a company of the 90th Foot, led by Captain Wolseley, now Commander-in-Chief of the British army, the British flag being placed on its summit amid a shower of bullets by Lieutenant Roberts, now Field

Lord Roberts. The observatory and Pearl were next carried, followed by the historic bridge between Campbell, Havelock, and Outram. The congratulations were soon damped by Sir Campbell's order that within twenty-four hours the garrison and army should quit Lucknow and march back to Cawnpur.

The wounded and sick were carried out and by the night of the 22nd of November, the last man had marched from the entrenchments at Lucknow. The officer, Captain Waterman, was in the contest left behind asleep. On waking up he found his well-known haunts abandoned and silent, and he was surrounded by some 40,000 rebel sepoys, who were still firing on the deserted posts. From this strange scene of war and silent desolation he hurried to join the rear-guard, half-crazed from fear. On the 23rd of November the Commander-in-Chief wrote to write, "The movement of retreat of last year, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was that the enemy was completely defeated, and the force retired by a narrow tortuous path, the only line of retreat open, in the face of 50,000 rebels without molestation."

On the morning of the 24th of November the soul of the noble-minded Henry Havelock passed away. He died at the Dilkusha Gardens at the age of 46.

When the soldiers marched on to Cawnpur they buried the dead in the Alambagh gardens, where they carved a cross for H. on a tree to mark his last resting-place.

He did not live to receive the baronetcy and pension granted him, they had to be handed on to his son and widow, yet from all came tributes to the memory of the heroic soldier-saint.

Outram was left to guard the Alambágh; Colin Campbell, with the garrison he had relieved, marched back to Cawnpur, only to find that in his absence General Windham had been defeated by Tántia Topi, and was now surrounded by an army of 25,000 rebels, mostly mutinous troops of Sindhia from Gwalior.

Sir Colin Campbell at once sent his sick, wounded and the rescued women and children away to Allahábád, and then led out his troops against the army surrounding Cawnpur under the command of the Náná Sáhib, Tántia Topi, and Kunwar Singh the Rájá of Jagdíspur. The enemy's right was driven in by three brigades under Adrian Hope, Walpole, and Inglis, and their artillery silenced by a 24-pounder dragged up by Peel's sailors. The whole of the Gwalior contingent retreated, being pursued and cut up for a distance of fourteen miles. Náná Sáhib escaped to a ferry over the Ganges, twenty-five miles above Cawnpur, all his guns and baggage were taken, and his followers driven into the river, the boats in which they endeavoured to escape being fired on and sunk.

By the middle of March, 1858, Lucknow was finally recaptured, but the rebels were unfortunately allowed to escape across the Gumti, to swarm for months afterwards round Náná Sáhib in Rohilkhand and the leading chieftains in Oudh, until they were driven over the frontier into Nepal, where they

miserably in the jungles or surrendered to overwhelming forces that slowly closed in on them all sides.

Sir Colin Campbell, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Clyde, was slowly and cautiously attacking the rebels before him in Oudh and Rohilkhand.

Hugh Rose, by his rapid marches in Central India, carried out without a single check a series of operations which for brilliancy, dash, and daring are without parallel in the history of military operations.

Starting from Holkar's capital at Indore, where he had restored order, he, early in 1858, with a column of 4,500 men, including four native regiments, captured the forts of Rathgarh and Bhilai, and by the 3rd of February relieved the garrison at Sagar, where a handful of Europeans and British, after eight weary months desperately defended the place, had saved men and children from the rebel sepoys.

On the 13th of February he captured the strong fort of Garhákota and forced the pass of Mundinpur, breaking the enemy's defences in the rear, which convinced them that they fled panic-stricken, and cleared the road to Jhánsi, where, ten months before, Major-General Skene, the Resident, and sixty-seven English soldiers, men, and children had been marched in a funeral procession through the town and slain, amid the cries of the fanatic Muhammadan priests. The fortress, built of solid granite, sixteen to twenty feet high, on a steep precipitous rock, was held by 1,000 men, headed by their fierce Rání Ganga Bai, who had sworn an undying vengeance against the British rulers for having refused to recognise

her adopted child as heir to her dead husband's principality.

For eight days the bristling guns from the fort answered back shot for shot the besieging batteries. Sir Hugh Rose at length determined to save his ammunition and assault the almost dismantled fort and city. Before the attack could be delivered news came that Tántia Topi had crossed the river Betwa and was marching at the head of 20,000 troops to the Rání's aid. Sir Hugh Rose at once left his heavy guns playing on the city, and with 1,500 of his men marched to meet Tántia Topi, who advanced at the head of his hosts confident of an easy victory. Before the British artillery and cavalry the rebels fell back dismayed, the ground for sixteen miles was strewn with abandoned guns, stores, and ammunition, 500 of Tántia Topi's troops fell, the rest, disbanded and broken, fled across the Betwa back towards Alpi. The wearied troops of Sir Hugh Rose, some of whom had not for seventeen days and nights taken off their clothes nor unbridled their horses, had to turn back for the attack on Jhánsi. After a desperate resistance the fort fell, and half the garrison was slain, but the brave Queen escaped on horseback, with her infant stepson through the outposts of the British camp.

The forces of Tántia Topi and those of the escaped Jhánsi Rání made a stand at Kúrch, whence they were driven after a fight which lasted from daybreak till nine at night on the 7th of May, with a loss of a hundred men and fifteen guns, the pursuit being discontinued by the exhausted British troops at foot-

er a terrible heat, reaching 110° in the
es and Europeans struggled on, many
by the roadside, many in greater numbers
slain by the enemy being carried back

a Rose, who was himself three times
sensible from sunstroke, wrote on the
y after the final attack, when the rebels
out of Kalpi, "It was 119° in the shade,
n out of less than 400 of the 25th Native
out of the ranks stricken by the sun."

of the success of the campaign, Lord
once telegraphed to Sir Hugh Rose,
ure of Kalpi has crowned a series of
l uninterrupted successes. I thank you
rave soldiers with all my heart."

he campaign Sir Hugh Rose and his
ed so severely that under medical advice
ered to take immediate leave to Bombay
s troops into cantonments.

ons had been made for a cessation of
erations when news was received that
oops at Gwalior had mutinied and placed
their fort with its arsenal-guns and
nder the command of Tántia Topi, and
f Jhánísi, who now had a force of some
ops to oppose to the worn-out British
the 16th of June Sir Hugh Rose, joined
er-General Napier, drove the rebels from
cantonments, while Brigadier Smith cap-
neights to the east of Gwalior. In the
t the Jhánísi Queen, wearing her usual

manly costume, a red jacket and trousers and white turban, was slain in a charge of the 8th Hussars, the rebel army thus losing their noblest and bravest leader who died amid the universal mourning of her people at the early age of twenty.

By the 19th of June Gwalior was captured by Lieutenants Rose and Waller, who, with a handful of men, crept up the hillside and broke in the gates of the fort, Rose paying with his life for the daring enterprise.

The Gwalior mutineers threw away their arms and ammunition and fled far away over the country, pursued by General Napier. Tántia Topi was captured by Captain, afterwards Sir Richard, Meade, and executed at Sipri on the 18th of April, 1859; Náná Sáhíb disappeared in the Nepal jungles and was never heard of more, though an occasional telegram in our daily papers still announces some foolish story of his reappearance. The surrender of the last 4,000 of his followers to Brigadier Holditch put an end to the final period of the Mutiny.

Peace once restored, the Government of India passed from the Company to the Queen, who, on the 1st of November, 1858, in her Proclamation—the Magna Charta of the people of India—declared the future policy of British rule in India: "We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties, engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and We look for a like observance on

part. We desire no extensions of Our present territorial possessions ; and while We will permit no invasion upon Our dominions or Our Rights to be violated with impunity, We shall sanction no encroachment on those of others, We shall respect the independence, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as Our equals, and we desire that they—as well as our own subjects—should enjoy prosperity, and that social advancement, which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of Our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty, which bind us to all Our other subjects, and those obligations by the Blessing of Heaven we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects."

To all those who had remained loyal and rendered services, rewards in money and land, honours and distinctions, were bestowed with no stinting hand, and to repentant Talukdars of Oudh who were weary of shedding blood their estates were returned with an hereditary and permanent title.

When the sepoy army sweeping changes were made. At the close of the year preceding the Mutiny, the ratio, which consisted of six natives to every European, was after the Mutiny reduced to the proportions of two natives to one European, and the artillery was placed almost entirely in the hands of Europeans. The Mutiny left behind it a heavy burden on the people of India. The National Debt had grown from

59½ millions sterling to nearly 89 millions, and the three years of the Mutiny ended in a deficit of over 30 millions sterling—a serious one when, with an income of not 37 millions, it was estimated that the year 1860 would end in a further deficit of 6½ millions. To restore the financial equilibrium Mr. Wilson, the new Finance Minister, was obliged to place an income-tax of 4 per cent. on all incomes above £50 a year, and 2 per cent. on all incomes from £20 to £50, but had to relinquish a proposed taxation of tobacco, and a license-tax on trades and professions. Mr. Samuel Laing, who succeeded Mr. Wilson, abolished the income-tax on all incomes under £50 a year, and effected a reduction of 3¼ millions on military expenses, and half a million on civil expenditure. During the period from 1856 to 1862 the natural growth in the land revenue, showed an increase of 2½ millions sterling so that Lord Canning was able to declare in 1862 “that he left India in peace and prosperity.”

Blind, weak, and incapable as Lord Canning's detractors judged him, still the proudest boast of his country will ever be that while hasty counsel urged him to wage an almost justifiable war of retribution, he had courage to declare that “no taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty.” He had stood calm, proudly reserved and unmoved though the raging storm of race hatred surged around and almost threatened to sweep him away in its tempestuous passion. He had risked his reputation and sacrificed his life to carry out his trust

determination to deliver it again into her hands "without spot or stain from any act." He left India tired, wan, and broken, to receive, within a few months' time, the news that he was a dying man with the weary cry, "so soon?"





XV.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

LORD ELGIN succeeded Lord Canning on the 12th of March, 1862, and died within two years. The work of Government was carried on by Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, until the arrival of the new Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, who reached India on the 12th of January, 1864.

India was in the meantime engaged in a disastrous frontier campaign, which at one time called forth for its suppression the whole available military resources of the Government. To the west of the Indus, amid the fastnesses of the outlying spurs of the Hindú Kush, a band of fanatic Muhammadans, known as Wahábís, had formed a colony, whence they had spread seditious exhortations to all true Muhammadans to aid with money, arms, and prayers in an unrelenting war against unbelievers. To their strongholds of Sitána, Jadún, and Malka in the Mahában, or Mountains of the Great Forest, mutinous sepoys from the lowlands, wild Patháns and fierce Afridis flocked in numbers, all eager to join in raiding the lowland villages and glad to swell the band of those whose lawless

were sanctioned by a fanatic zeal for the of the Muhammadan faith. In 1853, and 1858, their fastnesses had been raided and a dwelling-place at Sitána burned to the ground. Recruits from the Muhammadan cities in the n Behar and Bengal, flocked to the standard

gth, in October, 1863, Brigadier-General Sir Chamberlain, was directed to march against the head of 7,000 picked troops. At the Pass he was met by a force of 15,000 fighting who had assembled to resent the threatened of their mountain homes. The British force turned in, and for three weeks the camp could not hold its own. From all quarters new troops were sent forward, the pass was cleared, and by the 15th of November General Garvock, brought the tribesmen to submission. On the 22nd of December the Wahábi fort at Malka was burned, and the expedition having lost over one-tenth of its total number, returned. A few weeks after the Ambéla campaign was ended.

Lawrence arrived in India, where he ruled the Punjab, in January, 1869, having, during his long service, spent some time he first landed on the 9th of February, 1842, and every post from Assistant to the Resident in the Punjab up to Viceroy. A few days before he arrived in Calcutta Mr. Ashley Eden had been deputed to go from Dárjiling on a mission to the capital of a wild, unsettled country lying amid the mountains to the north of Assam and Bengal, whence the Buddhist Tartars who inhabited the land descended into the lowland valleys, carrying off the

cattle from the British villages. The Embassy and its slender escort of one hundred sepoy, struggled on through the snow-clad mountain ranges, their passage opposed by the native chiefs who extorted bribes from the envoy and delayed his progress. When Punákha, the winter capital, was reached, Mr. Ashley Eden was subjected to many gross insults, and ultimately forced, under threats of imprisonment, to sign a humiliating treaty whereby it was agreed that the passes leading from Assam should be surrendered to Bhután. To this treaty the British envoy affixed his signature, taking care, however, to add that he signed "under compulsion." He then escaped by night and brought back to India the news of the result of his mission. The treaty was at once repudiated, and three months given to the rulers of Bhután to send in their submission. No answer was received and war was declared. The forts commanding the passes from Bengal were captured and occupied, but Colonel Campbell and a garrison of five hundred men were surprised while holding Diwángiri, and though they easily repelled the first assaults, their ammunition ran short and the water was cut off, so they were obliged to retire, and leave behind two guns and their sick and wounded to the care of the enemy. Brigadier Henry Tombs hurried up with reinforcements and soon terminated the ignominious warfare against a contemptible and ignorant foe. The eighteen dzárs, or passes, leading from Bengal and Assam, were surrendered by the Bhutiás under promise of a yearly subsidy, thus adding a tea-growing district some 180 miles long by 20 to 30 broad to British territory.

the necessity was of keeping the
 invasion and the peaceful lowland
 village and the firebrand, the new
 had to devise means to meet a
 ing from the ravages of pestilence
 time immemorial the husbandmen
 eys of India have ploughed their
 d, and reaped the produce calmly
 ming and going of their foreign
 to all alike they must pay tribute.
 one of the great evils flowing from
 whose rule must be endured, but
 terrors, arising from gods and
 ce and famine—they fly in terror
 their homes waiting for death.

utter desolation spread over the
 d one million of its inhabitants,
 ntire population, perished from
 strict lay within easy reach of
 rtile enough to have exported
 ne previous year, yet in 1867 it
 nhabitable desert.

oral tracts, lying along the shores
 , were then not only shut in from
 gh mountains and inaccessible
 e monsoon winds raged, but were
 the north or south in consequence
 unbridged rivers, over which lay
 omunication from Calcutta or

er, 1865, the rains failed and the
 the people prayed for remission

of the land revenue, for there remained to them neither money nor food. It is impossible for the British administration in India to tell what grain lies hidden under ground in the village store-pits, or how much is held back by the merchants who hope to gain a rich harvest when prices rise high or when scarcity passes into actual famine. So in 1865 the chief Revenue authorities saw no reason for alarm; the land of Orissa was the richest in India; rice was reported to be held in plenty by the village merchants, and it was expected that more would be imported by private enterprise when prices commenced to rise. In May, 1866, the news suddenly reached Sir John Lawrence that the people were actually dying in their thousands, that along the sandy and worn-out roads no carts could travel, while ships laden with food lay tossing at the mercy of the waves near the coast, no boat from the shore being able to reach them on account of the monsoon winds. Famine amid surrounding plenty devastated Orissa and Ganjam. Cholera, fever, and disease stalked abroad among the emaciated people who strove to support life by eating the shrivelled leaves of the stunted shrubs and earth from the ant-hills.

When the long-looked-for rain at length came, the wide Mahánadí rose in flood, broke its high banks, and spread its waters over a district one thousand square miles in extent. The new-sown crops were covered, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions of the despairing population driven from their homes.

The terrible loss incurred during the short course of the Orissa famine, and the suddenness with which

ter passed beyond control, compelled the
ent in 1868, when the rains again failed in
India, to notify to the district officers that
ld be held directly responsible for all loss of
could possibly be prevented. Wells were
ely dug, the land revenue was remitted, food
dh was hurried to the threatened districts
a territory, where loss of life was happily
while in the native states of Rájputána up-
half a million people perished in two years.
estion of prevention and mitigation of famine
ained the gravest problem of Indian ad-
ion. During recent years all the skill and
within reach of a Western civilisation have
celessly called upon to devise means whereby
erings of the people might in some degree,
be alleviated. A new Department of Irriga-
the purpose of planning and constructing
the protection of districts liable to drought
s, was instituted under Colonel Richard
New works, costing some quarter of a
sterling, were carried out before John Law-
t India, and plans had been prepared for
estimated to cost at least £30,000,000, within

onstruction of railways was pushed forward,
5 miles of rail were opened up in five years,
India, which possessed only $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles of rail-
1853, had 4,000 miles opened up by 1868.
ilways, which cost £17,000 per mile, were
ed with money raised upon the security of
guarantee of 5 per cent. interest, so that

the shareholders incurred no risk. It was not till the Northern Punjab Railway was commenced that State railways were constructed and money raised at from 3 to 4 per cent., the line being carried out on the narrow-gauge system, or one metre in width, costing only some £6,000 per mile.

Though the rice-growing districts on the east coast suffered so terribly from famine, the cotton-growing tracts on the west had enjoyed undreamed-of prosperity.

During the period of the American Civil War the demand for Indian cotton, for the Lancashire mills, in consequence of the supply from America having ceased, became so great that the price in Bombay rose fourfold. When the war came to an abrupt close in 1865, the American cotton, with its long staple, again easily ousted the Indian cotton in the home markets, and the Indian merchants and cultivators were suddenly deprived of their new-found means of wealth. The wages of labour fell to their normal condition; the cotton merchants in Bombay failed one after another. Companies, started in the days of prosperity for visionary schemes of land reclamation, mining, tea-planting, and every form of wild and impossible project, immediately collapsed. The final blow came in 1866, when the Bombay Bank, empowered by a new charter granted in 1864 by Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay, to make large advances on other than Government securities, failed, half its capital was lost in place of which it held some two millions of useless debts. Not only were the merchants involved in the ruin,

many of the Government officials who had their long-earned savings to a bank they had no secure from its close connection with the Government. The general depression was further aggravated by the fact that the extraordinary expenditure on unproductive works, joined to an increasing ordinary expenditure resulted in a deficit of eleven millions sterling during the three years from 1866 to 1868.

The financial position was undoubtedly grave, and became more complicated, owing to demands for expenditure over and above those necessary for internal development of the resources of the country, and for protection against famine and pestilence.

The pressing nature of these demands can be illustrated from the fact that from the year 1812 to 1825 Paul I., the Russian Czar, strove to gain the mastery over Napoleon in his first advance from the Caucasus towards Herát, Kandahár, and the Indus, and in the year 1885, when Mr. Gladstone declared an immediate vote of £11,000,000 from the British Parliament to prepare for a war which was inevitable, the Indian Government has been obliged to spend upwards of 70 millions sterling in securing the north-west passes against the possibility of invasion, while the annual expenditure on frontier fortifications has increased so much as almost to lend justification to the apprehension that the finances of India have been hurried to the verge of bankruptcy.

The question first came within the sphere of international politics six months before John Lawrence

landed in Calcutta, when the Amír of Afghánistán, Dost Muhammad, died at Herát, and left his kingdom to his son Sher Alí, passing over his two elder sons Afzul and Azím, both born of a mother less noble than the mother of Sher Alí. In 1864 Muhammad Afzul Khán rose in rebellion and proclaimed himself Amír at Balkh; Azím hurried from his Governorship at Kuram to the aid of his elder brother, while among the other sixteen of Dost Muhammad's sons a fratricidal war commenced.

Towards the fighting brothers Lawrence steadily maintained a policy of "non-intervention"; and to whichever brother succeeded in establishing himself in power at Kábul, Herát, or Kandahár, friendly letters of congratulation were sent.

By September, 1868, Sher Alí succeeded in establishing himself as Amír of Afghánistán, his brother Azím fled as a fugitive to Turkestán, and Abdur Rahmán, son of Afzul, escaped to Khiva, thence to Bokhára and Tashkend, in Turkestán, where he received a pension of 18,000 roubles from the Russian Government. When Sher Alí was completely in possession of his father's dominions the Viceroy offered him a sum of £60,000, along with 3,500 muskets, in accordance with the strongly expressed opinion of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who wrote: "Whatever the price it must be paid, of such paramount importance is it to obtain at the present time a dominant position at Kábul, and to close that avenue of approach against Russia."

Unfortunately the ruler of Afghánistán was now wearied with the English, who had stood aloof during

trouble and dissension, only to come forward, when he was established, to make friends with him who had risen to power. More than once Sher Ali sought to gain the aid and alliance of Russia—but Sir John Lawrence determined to oppose, and when he wrote to the Home Government, it was to inform Russia "in firm but courteous terms that it cannot be permitted to interfere in the affairs of Afghánistán."

Lord Mayo succeeded to the Governor-Generalship, and Sher Ali came to Ambála hoping to secure from the new Viceroy an alliance offensive and defensive against all his enemies. From Lord Mayo he could obtain no treaty, no promise of assistance, not even a recognition of himself or his descendants as possessing a right to rule in Afghánistán. The Governor could only declare that he was prepared to give him all the moral support he could give; and that in addition we are willing to supply him with money, arms and ammunition, native guides, and in other ways, whenever we deem it expedient to do so."

Lord Mayo it seemed well that the people of Afghánistán should gradually and surely learn that the British would not allow a British soldier cross their borders to interfere in their internal affairs. He hoped that an agreement could be made with Russia that both nations would consent to abstain from interfering with the dominions held by Sher Ali, and that the Oxus as the northern boundary of Afghánistán.

In January, 1873, the boundaries to the north of

Afghánistán were fixed, Russia consenting to waive any objections to Badakshán and Wakhán being included in the territories held by the Amír, Sher Ali. The safest policy for the Indian Government to pursue with regard to Afghánistan had been indicated by Sir John Lawrence in the following words: "We think it impolitic and unwise to decrease any of the difficulties which would be entailed on Russia, if that Power seriously thought of invading India, as we should constantly decrease them if we left our own frontier and met her half-way in a difficult country and possibly in the midst of a hostile or exasperated population. We see no limit to the expenditure which such a move might require, and we protest against the necessity of having to impose taxation on the people of India." In his opinion the threatened danger could only be averted by "husbanding our finances and consolidating and multiplying our resources in quiet preparation for all contingencies which no Indian statesman should disregard."

The importance of this policy was further forced on Lord Mayo by the fact that, in addition to the deficit of eleven millions sterling accruing from the years 1866-69, the estimates for 1869-70, his first year of office, disclosed on examination a further probable heavy deficit of nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. Notwithstanding the urgency of providing for a possible recurrence of famine and the necessity of opening up the resources and trade of the country by an extension of railways, as well as providing for the defence of the North-west Frontier, Lord Mayo wrote: "I am

ed not to have another deficit, if it lead to
 nution of the Army, the reduction of Civil
 ments, and the stoppage of Public Works."
 tailment of the grant for public works, by
 of the amount for local expenditure, by
 ne income-tax from 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and
 sing the salt duties in Bombay and Madras.
 roy succeeded in changing an expected
 of £1,650,000 into a surplus of £108,000.
 ne next three years, from 1870-1 to 1872-3,
 Mayo's financial reforms resulted in a surplus of
 34.

ord Mayo's efforts for the welfare of India
 a sad close on the 8th of February, 1872,
 was stabbed by a convict while inspecting
 ct settlement of the Andaman Islands.
 id and impressive account is given in the
 Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, edited by
 er, Leslie Stephen, of the solemnity of the
 procession, when the body of the dead
 was borne through the streets of Calcutta.
 ible reality seems to have struck the minds
 ne sorrowing onlookers that they were but
 of foreigners asserting their right to wage
 r Western civilisation amid a hostile people
 ould willingly free themselves, if possible,
 e galling restraints under which their peace
 prosperity were assured. In a letter from
 , dated February 23, 1872, Sir James
 described his feelings, which must have
 mmon to many of the onlookers: "I never
 d to be impressed by a mere ceremonial,

there were some things almost oppressive from reality and solemnity. . . . The whole road was lined with troops on both sides, but they stood at intervals of several yards, and there was an immense space close behind, in some places in between them. I saw some suspicious-looking fellows grinning and sneering and showing their teeth myself, and I felt as if I could have killed them. No one who has not felt it can imagine how we all feel out here in regard to such matters. When Lord Mayo was killed I think every man in the country felt as if he had been more or less stabbed himself. . . . There was a dead silence all the way and the Europeans as if they were at death."

A few days after he describes the scene when the body was carried to the ship. "You cannot imagine the awful solemnity which all this precaution gave the thing. It was like marching through a city under a dead and half besieged. . . . There was a sternness of reality about the whole affair quite unlike anything one has seen elsewhere. Troops and cannon and gun-carriages seem out of place in England . . . It is a very different matter here where everything depends upon military force. The guns and the troops are not only the outward and visible marks of power, but they are the power itself to a great extent."

Effects such as these, apparent to most British officials in India, military and civil alike, have a significance more or less definitely indicated by the silence universally held by all thoughtful men. In their opinion is sought on Indian affairs, for they know full well the appalling catastrophe that

weep over the land, rolling away innocent
y alike, if once the spring were recklessly
which at present holds all quiet in a
sleep of peace and amity.

Lord Northbrook landed at Calcutta in May,
and assumed charge of the Government from
pier, India was at peace, the finances satis-
and hopes entertained that the income-tax
abolished, a surplus of $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions being
on the year's estimates. Trade was pros-
having grown rapidly since the opening in
the Suez Canal. The new Viceroy was free
calmly the pressing questions daily becoming
important, arising from the steady advance of
towards the Hindú Kush.

55 General Kaufmann reached Samarkand,
nára had become tributary to the Czar. By
73, Khiva fell, and the territories of the Khán
the right bank of the Oxus were annexed.
Amír of Afghánistán, alarmed for the safety of
kingdom, at once sent an envoy with all
Simla to learn from Lord Northbrook if he
depend on the English for help in the event
own lands being invaded.

and had been assured by the Russian Govern-
that Afghánistán lay outside the sphere of
quests, so Lord Northbrook sent back word
Amír that there was no cause for alarm,
the English Government was prepared to
with money and supplies, and in case of
even to send troops to his help, if he con-
to follow the advice of the Viceroy and give

no cause of offence by aggression against Russian territory. The Amír received the message of the Viceroy with scant courtesy. The arms forwarded to him were accepted, but five lakhs of rupees, offered as a compensation for the loss of a portion of Scistan, were not accepted. Sher Ali had determined to set his face away from the ruling powers in India, and closely watch the advance of Russia. In Lord Salisbury's opinion, however, it was necessary that the Amír of Afghánistán should be called upon to receive a British Agency at Kábul, so that immediate information might be obtained of Russian operations on the frontiers, and timely remonstrances be made at St. Petersburg by a British envoy. Lord Northbrook thought otherwise. He knew well the inveterate objection the Amír had always manifested to the presence of British officers at Kábul, and he was satisfied that accurate information of the affairs of Afghánistán could be obtained from the native Indian envoy then resident at the Court of the Amír. The Viceroy and his Council accordingly felt compelled to protest against the policy of forcing a British Embassy on Afghánistán, and in 1876 the Viceroy felt it necessary to request that he should be relieved, on the grounds of ill-health, from the duties of his office.

During Lord Northbrook's administration three important events happened. In 1873-4 a threatened famine in Lower Bengal was averted by timely relief and the purchase of grain. The Gáekwár of Baroda was tried on a charge of having endeavoured to poison the British Resident, Colonel

independent of either." That the Amír might not fully understand the true nature of his position to the two empires, each watching with impatience every move made to checkmate the other's advance, was told by the Viceroy the month of 1873 that "his position is rather that of an iron pot between two iron pots." At the same time the Amír was informed by Lord Salisbury that the treaty of 1855, nor by Lord Mayo in 1869, nor by Lord Northbrook in 1873, "was any more than a promise of unconditional protection."

Nevertheless, however, the Amír was resolved not to allow the entry of any English troops into his dominions. He knew that the appointment of an English officer at Kábul would goad the fanatic subjects to fury, and that neither his position nor the envoy's life would be safe. The Amír had also doubts respecting the influence of the English, for he had seen the British troops in November, 1876, take up a permanent position at Quetta on the south of his empire—a move he deemed, not unnaturally, to be a step in the advance towards Kandahár and Herat. The Amír accordingly, in his reply to the British Government, stated that he objected to the appointment of an English officer, for "We mistrust you, and fear you will make all sorts of reports about us, which will be brought forward against us and lead to the loss of the control of our affairs out of our hands." Lord Lytton, finding that neither flattery nor finesse nor harsh threats could force an Afghanistán, peremptorily refused to enter

into further negotiations with the Amír, who was left for the future to take what course he deemed fit for the preservation of the independence of his own dominions.

In Europe the Russians had crossed the Balkans and forced on Turkey the Treaty of San Stefano, only to be held in check by England, who mobilised her forces and brought to Malta sepoy soldiers from India. Still, if England could stay the course of Russia towards the Mediterranean, Russia could strive to shake to its very foundations the British rule in India. Before the Peace of Berlin had been signed Stolietoff was hurrying from Samarkand to Kábul bearing to the Amír a treaty of friendship and alliance. As soon as the news reached the Viceroy that a Russian Embassy had been received by the Amír, and that Russian soldiers were to be seen in the bazaars at Kábul, he determined, whether the Amír desired it or not, to send an English officer to Afghánistán.

From Pesháwar Sir Neville Chamberlain was directed to march with a small escort to Kábul through the Khaíbar Pass. At Alí Masjid, the first fort commanding the mountain pass, Major Cavagnari received a polite intimation that if the embassy advanced further its passage would be resisted by force of arms.

In vain Lord Lawrence pleaded that the English nation should refrain from imperilling its position by advancing beyond its own strong boundaries on the Indian frontier to wage war against a foe that would never tamely submit to foreign invasion. In vain Lord Northbrook urged that since the signing of the

Berlin all fear of danger had passed away. declared against the Amír on the 21st of , and before the year was out General Sir Browne was encamped with a conquering alálábád; Sir Donald Stewart had marched etta up the Pishín Valley to Kandahár, eral Frederick Roberts had made his way the Kuram Valley. The Amír, accompanied by a remnant of the Russian Embassy, fled capital. On the 21st of February, 1879, t Balkh, forsaken by his allies, and left his úb Khán, to make what terms he could English who now held Afghánistán. On of May the Treaty of Gandamak was y which the external policy of Afghánistán ed under British control, the districts of Pishín, and Sibi ceded, the control over s guarding the Khaíbar and Kuram passes ned, and a permanent British envoy and cepted at Kábul. With calm resignation s Cavagnari, William Jenkins of the Civil Dr. Kelly, and Lieutenant Hamilton, V.C., enty-five of the Guides, rode into the Bála n the 24th of July, 1879, to meet the fate owed by those who knew the deep hatred kled in the hearts of the fanatic tribesmen nistán against the intruders in their land. re weeks the embassy remained at Kábul in elency near the Amír's palace. Each day Sir vagnari reported that all went well. Suddenly, 3rd of September, the pent-up storm burst The city rabble, led on by the wild soldiery

of Herát, came clamouring to the Residency gates. The defenders fought long for their lives; they fell one by one, and the last of the Guides perished amid



KABULIS.

the flames of the Residency. Lord Lytton had, at last, more than justifiable grounds to exact the utmost penalty from the new Amír for his treacherous

of a treaty of safe conduct to a British
General Sir Frederick Roberts, at the head
of 5,500 men and twenty guns, marched
the Kuram Valley, and received the sub-
Yákub Khán on the 2nd of October.
the whole Afghán force of some thirteen
was driven before the advancing force,
11th Sir Frederick Roberts was before
viewing the burnt ruins where Cavag-
his band had bravely fought and died.
of murder or treachery were hunted out
ed, the Amír was deported to India, and
army of seven thousand men encamped
ights overlooking Kábul. Towards the
e year the tribesmen gathered together,
ed in from all sides against the handful of
ops. On the 11th of December General
s sent out towards Ghazní with four horse-
uns, a troop of the 14th Bengal Lancers,
quadrons of the 9th Lancers, to aid General
n in scattering the tribesmen who were
in from the west towards Kábul. As
assey advanced he suddenly found himself
e with upwards of 10,000 Afghán fighting
immediately opened fire on the British
charge of two hundred of the Lancers
midst of the foe held them back for a
, but at a loss of sixteen men and two
The British force were outnumbered, and
Lieutenant Hardy, of the Horse Artillery,
his gun, which had to be spiked, and

the three remaining guns were abandoned in a deep watercourse whence they were afterwards brought in by Colonel Macgregor.

As General Massey's force retired, keeping the enemy at bay, two hundred men of the 72nd Highlanders, ordered out by Sir Frederick Roberts, came to the rescue, and gaining the village Deh Mazung at the gorge of a pass in the hills to the west of the Sherpur cantonments, prevented the further advance of the Afghán tribesmen. The Afgháns, defeated in their attempt to rush the cantonments, took possession of the hills near Kábul. To their aid reinforcements poured in from all sides, and daily assailed the position held by an army little more than that which had retired in the winter of 1841. Sir Frederick Roberts, knowing that the enemy would soon deliver themselves over into his hands to be heavily smitten and broken in pieces, quietly waited his time, and withdrew the whole of his troops into the cantonments. Ever cool and ever cheerful he was to be seen at all hours of the day and night passing from post to post, encouraging each soldier, leaving nothing to chance.

On the last night of the Mohurram, the 23rd of December, the ninety years' old chief of Ghazni Mashk-i Alám, who, by his influence, had fanned a religious war of extermination against the unbelievers, sent forth from the heights of Asmai the signal, a flame of fire, for a final attack. Some 30,000 fierce clansmen and trained soldiers, led by howling bands of Gházís, rushed down on the camp. Within the entrenchments dead silence

each man his post had been allotted. The Afghán host drew close the sullen roll of drums rang out from the trenches and bastions and after volley was poured into the dense ranks the advancing flocks. For hours the fierce struggle to gain the defences, till, taken in the rear by four guns sent out from an opening in the line to the north, they broke, pursued by the victors and left their thousands dead behind, the survivors escaping to carry the news of their defeat through the villages of Afghánistán. On the 10th of July, 1880, by the direction of Lord Dufferin who had succeeded Lord Lytton, it was announced to the chiefs and sardars at Kábul by Mr. Lepel Griffin that the Viceroy and Government of the Queen-Empress had decided to recognise the Afghánistán Abdur Rahmán Khán, grand-son of Abdur Most Muhammad, who had long been a resident in Russian territory.

Days later, on July 27th, a terrible disaster befell General Burrows' Brigade at Maiwand. Ayúb Khán, son of Yákúb Khán, had marched from Kandahár, and there met two Bombay regiments, six companies of the 66th, a troop of artillery, and some native cavalry, which he defeated, inflicting on them a loss of 964 killed and 1,000 wounded.

Abdur Rahmán could be left in safety at Kandahár, his opponent, Ayúb Khán, had to be crushed and the reverse to the English troops retrieved. On the 1st of August Sir Frederick Roberts, at the head of 10,000 men, 2,835 being Europeans, set out,

without wheeled artillery, on his famous march from Kábul to Kandahár 320 miles distant. The force reached Robat on the 28th, the distance, 303 miles, having been covered in twenty days, and in the battle of Kandahár, fought on the 1st of September, Ayúb Khán was defeated, his army dispersed, some 1,000 of his troops slain and all his guns captured.

The British troops were gradually withdrawn from Afghánistán, and the Kuram and Khaibar Passes relinquished in the year 1880-1. On the 1st of April, 1881, Kandahár was evacuated and Abdur Rahmán left to consolidate his power and extend his sway over his subjects.

The remainder of Lord Ripon's administration was devoted to the peaceful development of the resources of the country. He abolished the import duties, especially those on cotton goods; he enlarged and extended the principle of local self-government, set free the vernacular press from the restrictions imposed on it by Lord Lytton, extended the criminal jurisdiction of native Civil servants of the grade of District Magistrate, re-established the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, and made efforts for the encouraging of primary education on the lines recommended by an Education Commission which he appointed.

The final expansion of British India took place during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, who, on the 1st of January, 1886, annexed Upper Burma, Mandalay having been captured in November, 1885, by General Prendergast, in consequence of the barbarities and intolerance of King Theebaw.

In 1885 it seemed that war was almost inevitable

[illegible]

aries of the Amír's dominions and those of
ar. Both sides laid claim to Panjdeh at the
n of the Kushk and Murghal Rivers. The
n general, Shams-ud-Dín, moved his soldiers

across the Kushk River, and was ordered to retire by the Russian general, Komaroff. He refused, and five hundred of his force were shot down in less than an hour by the Russian Cossacks and Turkomans. At the time the Amír Abdur Rahmán was at Ráwal Pindi on a visit to Lord Dufferin, and the expected war, for which the English Parliament had, at the request of Mr. Gladstone, voted an immediate grant of eleven millions sterling, was happily averted by the Amír withdrawing his claim to Panjdeh, his right to Zurfikar being recognised in exchange.

For the first time in the history of British rule in India the native princes eagerly pressed forward in the supposed emergency with offers of aid in money, transport, and men, some even offering to maintain their own troops at the front if the Viceroy would but accept their offer to repel what was feared would be the commencement of a Russian invasion.

On the 3rd of December, 1888, the Marquis of Lansdowne landed at Bombay, having been appointed to succeed the Earl of Dufferin, created Marquis of Dufferin and Ava for his services during his Viceroyalty.

Many and varied were the problems that presented themselves for solution during the administration of Lord Lansdowne. First there were the questions in connection with the National Congress, or assemblage of representatives from all parts of India, which first met in 1886, and still continues annually to hold meetings in December of each year, to formulate and press on the Government measures which it deems essential in consequence of the newly awakened

aspirations of the more educated natives. Also questions connected with local representation and freedom of members of the Legislative Council to discuss finance and financial legislation, and questions respecting the newly aroused, bitter, sanguinary feuds between different religious communities in the community in India, all of which await solution in the future.

Condition of affairs at Manipur, on the borders of India and in Chitral, a state lying between India and the North-west frontier, were of immediate interest. All that is at present known is doubtful if more ever will be known. The true facts of the former is that in the state of Manipur, having an area of 10,000 square miles, the ruling chief was, in October, 1890, driven out from his territories by a brother, the Senapati, or leader of the state. Another of his brothers proclaimed Regent in his place. The chief fled first to Mr. Grimwood, the British agent at Manipur, thence to Calcutta. The Government at once directed Mr. Quinton, Commissioner of Assam, to proceed to Manipur and to inform the newly appointed Regent as chief of state, but at the same time directions were given that the Senapati should be captured and brought to Calcutta. With an escort of four hundred Ghurkas, Colonel Skene left Assam and marched to Manipur, where he summoned the newly appointed Regent and the Senapati to meet him in public, the intention being that the Senapati should be apprised of the intentions of Government.

publicly arrested. As the Senapati, however, did not deem it wise to attend the Darbar, an attempt was made on the 24th of March to arrest him at his house. He resisted, and in turn attacked the Residency. Mr. Quinton, Mr. Grimwood, and Colonel Macneil, were outnumbered, and when they went with a flag of truce to the Regent they were treacherously assassinated.

The escort retreated from the Residency, but on the arrival of reinforcements order was restored. The Senapati and those guilty suffered the penalty of death, the Regent was transported for life, and a minor representative of the ruling family nominated by the British Government to the chieftainship, a Political Resident being placed in administrative charge to govern the minority of the young Rájá.

Chitral, a state larger than Wales, inhabited by some eighty thousand wild and reckless hill-men, and for long preserved its independence, hid away in the mountains. It was amid the surrounding vast mountain ranges, separated from Russian territories by the state of Cabul, and from British India by the state of Afghanistan. Chitral guards the Ishkamun and Baroghil passes leading across the Hindú Kush—the great watershed between India and Central Asia—to the Pamirs.

In 1876 the Chief of Chitral sought to enter into friendly relations with the Mahárájá of Kashmír—a policy in which he was encouraged by the Indian Government, as it was hoped that thereby effectual control might be ultimately gained over the northern passes, and to some extent a voice in the external affairs of Chitral itself. In 1878 a treaty was

drawn up under Lord Lytton's auspices
Chief of Chitral and the Mahárájá of
By this treaty it was agreed that an
agency should be established at Gilgit on
frontier. This position was to be gar-
Kashmír troopers, for the purpose of
and reporting on Russian intrigues and
nents in the scarcely known tracts lying
Kashmír and the Pamirs. This agency was
in 1881, but re-established under Lord
in 1889, with instructions that the Resi-
om time to time to visit Chitral, and if
n up a road thence to Pesháwar.
t, 1892, the Mehtar, or ruler, of Chitral
second son, aged twenty-five, Afzal-ul-
ered all his brothers within reach, and
o the Viceroy that he had been acknow-
f with the "unanimous consent of his
requesting at the same time that an
nt should be sent to Chitral.
ot long before the new chieftain was
his uncle, Sher Afzal, who was in turn
from Chitral by the old Mehtar's eldest
ul-Múlík, who had returned from Gilgit,
ad won the favour of the agent, Colonel
her Afzal retired to Badakshan, where
a pensioner of the Amír of Afghánistán,
n-Major Robertson was deputed by the
visit Chitral and report on the state of

e British Government was considering the
expedient to pursue with regard to the

state the question suddenly developed fresh complications from the fact that the new chief, Nizám-ul-Múlk, was, on the 1st of January, 1895, shot at a hunting party at the instigation of Amír-ul-Múlk, his half-brother.

The Amír of Afghánistán had undertaken, by the Durand Agreement of November 12, 1893, not to interfere with Chitral, but, strange to say, when Umra Khán, Chief of Jandol, a neighbouring state lying between Chitral and Pesháwar, attempted in the confusion to seize Chitral, he was joined, on February 21st, by Sher Afzal, who had somehow escaped from the custody of the Amír.

Four days later the fickle tribesmen of Chitral joined the two insurgent chieftains, and raised the standard of revolt against their new chief and his English supporters. Surgeon-Major Robertson was driven into the fort, and on the 13th of February wrote that he was holding out with 240 men and had ample supplies for three months. On the 3rd of March 200 Kashmír infantry, under Captain Campbell, advanced from the fort to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. They were driven back with a loss of twenty-three killed and thirty wounded. Surgeon-Captain Whitchurch bravely won the Victoria Cross for bearing Captain Baird, who was mortally wounded, through the attacking enemy three miles back to the fort.

Cut off from the outside world, the defenders gallantly held the fort from March 3rd to April 17th, in which time 101 of their number were wounded, 40 fatally. The full strength of the garrison consisted of 99 men of the 14th Sikhs, 301 of the Kashmír

under the command of Surgeon-Major the agent, Captains Townshend and Lieutenants Gurdon and Harley, and Captain Whitchurch.

19th of March orders were given for the march of the 1st Army Corps, 15,000 strong, from near Pesháwar through the Swát and to attack the rebels from the south. On the 1st of April the army, fully equipped and provisioned, started under Lieutenant-General Sir Low. On the 3rd of April the Malakand Pass, 3,500 feet high, was forced, and 12,000 rebels driven from a strong position they defended. Further on the Panjkora River was found and was impassable. A bridge was built, and Lieutenant-Colonel Battye, after a gallant day's action in which he succeeded in driving the tribesmen off the hills on the far side of the river, fell mortally in the hour of victory. On the 17th of April the advancing force from the south defeated the rebels at Chitral. In the meantime Colonel Kelly had marched from Gilgit, two hundred miles north-east, with four officers and two hundred men. The pioneers crossed over the Sandur Pass, 12,400 feet high, through 4½ feet of snow, and on the 20th of April reached Lashpur, thirty of his men having been struck down with snow-blindness, and many having fallen frostbitten during the march. Chitral, which Mastuj was occupied, its garrison relieved, and the force, now increased to 640 men, drove the rebels before them and reached Chitral by the 20th of April. There to find that the besieging force had

fled and that the garrison was released from its long imprisonment of forty-seven days.

Chitral once subdued, the same question, which has run through all Indian politics since the time when Lord Lawrence formulated his policy of non-intervention with territories and chieftains lying outside the strict limits of British India, once again pressed for solution. Should the British force be withdrawn from Chitral, or should the position be strengthened and improved by making a road from Pesháwar and placing an agent permanently at the Mehtar's capital? On the one hand it was urged that an advanced position on the very borders of Russian territory, the opening-up of the country by roads and consequent civilisation of the savage races, would only prepare the way for a Russian advance from Bokhára towards Kashmír, Gilgit and the Punjáb. On the other hand, it was contended that an English agent and English troops at Chitral would effectually frustrate any possible intrigues or sudden incursions from beyond the passes of the Hindú Kush.

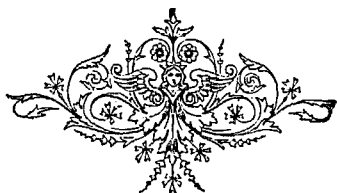
The question received the full attention of the most experienced officials in India and England. On the 13th of June, 1895, Sir Henry Fowler, then Secretary of State for India under a Liberal Government, sent to the Viceroy a telegram directing that no European force or diplomatic agent should be retained at Chitral, that the state should be abandoned to a new native ruler, Shujá-ul-Múlk, and no effort made to open communications with it from Pesháwar. This decision the Government of India regretted, but,

time, loyally accepted. Before action was taken a Conservative Government came into power. On the 8th of August Lord George Hamilton became the new Secretary of State for India, and he continued the policy of his predecessor and telegraphed the Viceroy that Chitral should not be left without a military force should be located there. Chitral remains the most advanced post in the north-western frontier, guarding the passes through which the British Empire has probably advanced on the first day of the British conquest of India. The passes, however, through which the British have advanced are absolutely impossible that any advance could ever be contemplated or accomplished.

The policy towards expansion of British territory in the north-west is inevitable, however much it may be delayed. To the far East over Burma towards the Indian Ocean, beyond the Indus from Chitral to the Indian Ocean, it has spread, and in the future it will certainly extend till it touches the boundaries of Russian dominion. Before that time comes many changes will have taken place - changes that will shake the very foundations of the Empires of the East and decide the great question of the future: whether the nations of Europe for final victory or not only over India but also over the East. It is a contest in which the East must be conquered so long as physical force is the basis of power. The pre-eminence of the hardy dwellers of the North will decline over their effete and perhaps

more degenerate brethren in the enervating regions of tropical lands.

At the present moment the whole world throbs to its centre with eagerness to enter on the mighty contest—a contest which all know cannot be long delayed. So portentous appear to be the coming changes that none seems to know whether it were wise to hope that some solution may come speedily or that for a time the West may be allotted opportunity to reconsider her position in the history of the world's civilisation before her irresistible material resources are again sent forth to bend and mould to her ways the sedate and placid peoples whose necks are already bent before their coming conquerors.





XVI.

D MATERIAL PROGRESS UNDER BRITISH RULE.

's mission in India as pioneer in implantments of Western Civilisation, nurtured are necessity of a struggle for existence in the fittest tend to survive, has as yet but nenced. The extent of country that has her sway and the varied people she there t a problem more than sufficient to tax to he resources she holds at her command.

g to the last Census Report, ably com- e Census Commissioner, Mr. Baines, the ritish in India extends over the following nd feudatory states, the latter having a lation than that of the United States, alone being equal in extent to the ngland and Scotland, while Rájputána al India exceed the entire German

State, or Agency.				Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1891.
.	...	...	...	151,543	71,346,987
.	...	...	...	141,189	35,630,440
.	...	...	...	83,286	34,254,254
.	...	...	...	24,217	12,650,831
.	...	...	...	110,667	20,866,847
.	...	...	...	77,275	15,985,270
.	...	...	...	47,789	2,871,774
.	...	...	...	86,501	10,784,294
.	...	...	...	83,473	2,946,933
.	...	...	...	87,957	4,658,627
.	...	...	...	49,004	5,476,833
.	...	...	...	17,718	2,897,491
.	...	...	...	2,711	542,358
.	...	...	...	1,583	173,055
.	...	...	...	80	44,079
.	...	...	...	—	27,270
.	...	...	...	—	15,609
Provinces	...	...	...	964,993	221,172,952
.	...	...	...	82,698	11,537,040
.	...	...	...	130,268	12,016,102
.	...	...	...	77,808	10,318,812
.	...	...	...	27,936	4,943,604
.	...	...	...	8,226	2,415,396
.	...	...	...	80,900	2,543,952
th Bombay	...	...	...	69,045	8,059,298
Madras	...	...	...	9,609	3,700,622
Central Provinces	...	...	...	29,435	2,160,511
Bengal	...	...	...	35,834	3,296,379
N.-W. Provinces	...	...	...	5,109	792,491
Punjab	...	...	...	38,299	4,263,280
in Outposts...	...	...	...	—	2,992
ry States	...	...	...	595,167	66,050,479
INDIA	...	...	...	1,560,160	287,223,431

... exceeds in extent the whole of
 ... out Russia, but its people are divided
 ... her in race, language, and physical
 ... greatly as are the varied nationalities
 ... In religion they are subdivided as

Religion.	Population (1891).
... ..	207,731,727
... ..	9,280,467
... ..	1,907,833
... ..	1,416,638
... ..	89,904
... ..	7,131,361
... ..	17,194
... ..	2,284,380
... ..	57,321,164
... ..	185
... ..	42,578
... ..	287,223,431

to the census returns they are grouped
 speaking languages belonging to the
 families :—

	Population Returning.
by Linguistic groups—	
Aryo-Indic	195,463,807
Dravidian	52,964,620
Polarian	2,059,006
Gipsy Dialects	401,125
Khási	178,637
Tibeto Burman	7,203,928
Tón Annam	220,342
Taic, or Shán	178,447
Malayan	4,084
Sinitic	713,350
Japanese	93
Aryo-Eranic	1,329,428
Semitic	55,534
Turanic	659
Aryo-European	245,745
Basque	1
Hamitic or Negro	9,612
Age unrecognisable	363
Left blank... ..	19,659
Notated by Parent Tongue... ..	262,047,440
Not enumerated by Parent Tongue	25,175,991
Total	287,223,431

The almost incredible ignorance of the mass of the people may be estimated from the following figures:—

Country.	Number able to read and write per 1,000 of each Sex.	
	Males.	Females.
United States (<i>White</i>)	725	706
Ireland	554	501
Ceylon	269	29
United States (<i>Coloured</i>)	254	217
INDIA, 1881	91	4
„ 1891	109	6

To keep this vast empire in peace, and resist all possible danger of invasion, the army, according to the returns of 1893-4, has a sanctioned establishment as follows:—

British troops	73,080
Miscellaneous officers	901
Native troops {	Bengal 84,513
	Madras 32,305
	Bombay 28,818
	<hr/> 145,636
Total	<hr/> 219,617
Corresponding total for 1892-3	<hr/> 218,786

The native reserves amount to a total of 13,316, the effective strength of the volunteers being 25,908, with 19,294 contingents from feudatory states, organised and trained by British officers for service in the field. The proportion of Europeans to natives in the regular army is about one to two, and about equal

the subsidiary forces of reserves, volunteers, and
military contingents.
Almost the whole of the effective artillery, the forts,
arsenals are in the possession of British troops,
every position of vantage is practically unassail-
able by native troops. The defences of Delhi were
so secured against all possibility of attack, and
the railway bridge over the Jumna was pro-
tected by fortifications. Similarly Agra, Cawnpur,
Allahábád, and all chief cities where dis-
order is ever to be feared, have been so secured as
to furnish safe retreat for the British colony in case
of sudden attack. It is to be hoped that in future no
more will be spared for the necessary extension of
the defences and construction of like harbours of
refuge, where the military authorities, after full con-
sideration and due consultation with the Civil author-
ities deem them imperative. So long as there is
any fear of grave disorder arising from outbursts of
religious zeal, race hatred, or lawless lust, which may
at any moment occur and spread far and wide, in
remote and at present unprotected portions of India,
the first duty of the Government to see that
civil officers and outlying military posts are not
exposed to any avoidable risk in carrying on their
duties of administration.
While the internal peace of India has been secured,
the problem of defence against any possible attack
from the north-west or east still occupies the earnest
attention of the Government.
The conquest of Sind in 1843, and the acquisition
of the Punjáb in 1849, advanced the boundaries of

British India to the high mountains and table-lands of Khelát and Afghánistán. From the west of Kashmír the mountain ranges, running south for 1,200 miles to Karáchi, the seaport town of Sind, are held to the northward by fierce, fanatic Patháns, to the southward by more tractable Balúchís, who submit to the rule of their hereditary chieftains, both races together being able to turn out some 200,000 fighting men. From Pesháwar, the Khaibar Pass is open towards Kábul; further south the Tochi and Gúmal Passes give access to Ghazní, while from the plains of Sind the Bolán Pass leads to Quetta and Chaman, thence through the Khojak Pass to Kandahár.

The route from the Khaibar Pass was secured, in 1893, by defensive works at Pesháwar, by entrenchments and batteries stretching $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extent along the river Indus at Attock, and further back by fortifications at Ráwal Pindi, extending in a quadrilateral of five miles, which would take some 10,000 men to defend. At the other passes adequate precautions for defence have been taken, the most important being those in connection with the route from Kandahár to Quetta on to the plain of Sind, with which the name of the great hero diplomatist, Sir Robert Sandeman, will, so long as the British Empire in India lasts, be ever associated. For upwards of 400 miles north, from the sea to the Indus, the administration of the Sind frontiers lay in the hands of the Sind Government, whose duty it was to watch the Khán of Khelát and the territories over which he ruled, a tract of country larger than Great Britain. These lands were inhabited by Balúchí and Brahúi

held the passes and roads leading from
towards Kandahár, Herát, and Persia. Through
out Sandeman's indomitable perseverance
and determination, the Khán of Khelát was
in 1876, to enter into a treaty by which
not only to refer his disputes with his
to the British Government, but also to
allow British troops to occupy Quetta, a post now
very pregnable.

In the Afghánistán war of 1878, Sir Robert
succeeded in securing the districts now
British Balúchistán, included in 1887 in
territory. In 1890 the Zhob Valley was
opened and the Gúmal Pass opened up for traffic.
It has further been connected with Sibi by
railways, one through the Harnai Valley and
through the Bolán Pass leading to Chamán six
miles from Quetta by a tunnel $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long.
The difficulties of constructing these railways have
been most insurmountable, in consequence of the
frequent landslips and floods. On the Mush-
kiet line, in the Bolán Pass, upwards of
tunnels had to be constructed in a distance
of 15 miles; lower down nine bridges were swept
away in 1892; in other places the rails were carried
over floods and had to be relaid nine and ten
times while in other parts the line has over and
over been covered for miles by landslips.

Every available effort has thus been put forth
to make the frontiers from Karáchi to Chitral
secure from the west, the north is secured by
the lofty mountain ranges of the Himálayas, im,

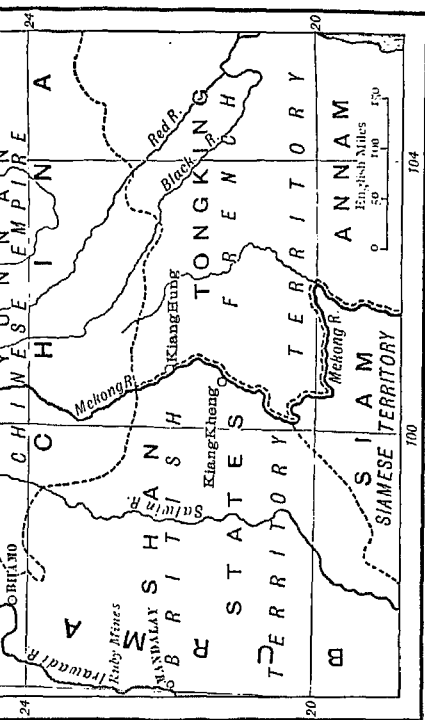
or an invading army, and possessing peaks
nose of Kanchajanga and Mount Everest,
miles in height.

South-east the conquest of Upper Burma
at the British dominions in touch with those
French, and the Mekong River now forms the
between these two rival powers in the East.
North-east the limits between China and
were satisfactorily demarcated in 1894, the
Kiang Hung, on the left bank of the
being ceded to China, and the state of
Siam. By handing over this northern
of Kiang Hung along the banks of the
to China, an intermediate zone to the south
to form a buffer state between British and
boundaries. By the declaration of January
between France and England, it was finally
stated, "From the mouth of the Nam Huok
as far as the Chinese frontier, the thalweg
of the Mekong shall form the limits of the possessions
of influence of Great Britain and France."
The joining together of British and French territories

along the Mekong will entail future military ex-
penses and possibly give rise to many complicated
problems of international policy. At present the
pressing problem seems to be the necessity of
connecting Burma with the south of China by a
route carried through the Kiang Hung State, so
as to open up a new and important route to tap the
mineral and agricultural resources of Indo-China and

India is thus almost in touch on its north-

South-east frontiers with the advancing Russia and France, and therefore command adequate defence against all possible invasion by land, the great seaports Karachi,



and Calcutta have been placed in a command of defence against naval operations, for financial and other reasons, the security of the main and minor ports a matter for serious consideration.

Although the necessity of holding India free from every possible and probable internal disturbance and safe from external invasion is the primary duty of a civilised Government without which none of its functions, such as the moral and material advancement of the people entrusted to its charge, can be accomplished, yet there may be limits beyond which no Government, with a due regard to financial considerations, can prudently advance. Military strategists, if left unchecked by all financial considerations, could only find the actual realisation of their ideals in making the defences entrusted to their care absolutely impregnable from all possible combinations of attack. That it is however practically impossible to carry out, at the present time, many admirable and probably necessary schemes for defence must be admitted, when the financial position of India is recognised as demanding the most careful consideration, and even scrutiny, before further expenses are incurred without the very gravest necessity.

The first note of financial alarm was sounded in the year 1885, when it was proposed to increase the army in India by 10,000 British and 20,000 native troops. Since then the average annual expenditure up to 1892-3 on special defensive works has been over 5,550,511 rupees, while the cost of minor military expeditions, including that in Upper Burma and Manipur, has exceeded $8\frac{1}{4}$ millions of tens of rupees, the increase on army effective service alone being 12 millions of tens of rupees more in 1892-3 than it was in 1882-3.

In addition to these burdens on the financial re-

sources of India, the cost of civil administration has increased by nearly 3 millions of tens of rupees from 1882-3 to 1894-5. The interest on public debt has grown at the rate of 3 millions of tens of rupees annually during the last twenty years.

Another serious item to be considered is the loss annually incurred from exchange, due to the fact that money to the amount of 16 millions sterling has to be remitted from India to England in order to pay for home charges, such as interest on debt, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; interest on railway, about $5\frac{3}{4}$ millions; military charges and pensions, $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions; civil pensions, $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; and stores, $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The whole of this is paid in England in gold, and raised in India in silver rupees. During recent years the value of silver, in relation to gold, has fallen considerably; the rupee, instead of being worth 2s., was valued at but a little over thirteen pence in 1894-5. As the rupee falls in value or purchases less gold, more of the silver revenue of India has to be sent yearly to England; the loss in exchange, in 1894-5, amounted to 14,752,000 of tens of rupees.

By Act VIII. of 1893 an effort was made to stay the falling value of the rupee, and if possible to facilitate the introduction of a gold coinage into India. The Indian mints were closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver into rupees by the public; gold at the same time being accepted at the Government treasuries at the rate of one sovereign for fifteen rupees, or gold received at the mint at the ratio of 1s. 4d. for the rupee.

The revenues of India, from which these increasing

expenses of the army, military defences, civil administration, and loss by exchange have to be met, are raised for the greater part from that portion of the population least able to bear any increase of taxation.

The population of British India amounted to 221,172,952 in 1891—an increase of 22,312,349 during the ten years from 1881. Two-thirds of this vast population live by agriculture, the land revenue contributing a total of 25,492,300 of tens of rupees out of a total revenue of 92,024,900 of tens of rupees. (Budget estimate for 1894-5.) This agricultural population is as a class poor, living so near the very verge of subsistence that a scarcity prolonged for a year gives rise to widespread distress, bringing many to the borders of starvation; a second year's failure of rain results in a calamity such as that of 1876-8, when four millions of people died in the south, notwithstanding every effort made by the Government to save life.

Nine-tenths of the population live in villages not having over 5,000 inhabitants, and four-fifths live in villages not possessing 1,000 inhabitants; the average village of India contains about 363 inhabitants. In each village there is the hereditary moneylender, eager to advance money to the cultivators at rates of interest varying from 1 to 50 per cent., on the security of the land which, since the advent of British rule has acquired an ever-increasing value. Under the ancient Hindú law no moneylender could recover more interest on a loan than the amount of principal he had advanced; under British rule he can

er to any amount, and to recover his debt sell, only the tenant's crop, but take possession of the land under a judgment decree. In native states this transfer of land from a cultivator to a creditor is allowed; in villages under British rule it obtains to a great extent that Sir Griffith Evans declared, during the course of a recent debate in the Legislative Council of Calcutta, that "It is one of the political dangers of the future. . . . We are oppressing the warrior peasantry by our laws and courts in the usurer. We shall want our army one day to keep him in."

The following return from the last Census report shows the extent to which this transfer of land, from the law-abiding, industrious class to the idle and unscrupulous moneylenders, has taken place under British laws:—

PROVINCE.	Per-centage of Landholders, &c., amongst		STATE.	Percentage of Landholders, &c., amongst	
	Total Non-Agricultural Population.	Money-lenders.		Total Non-Agricultural Population.	Money-lenders.
Assam	9.24	31.22	Haidarábád ...	5.21	15.31
Bombay	6.54	17.77	Baroda	5.68	2.60
Central Provinces	5.56	36.74	Bombay States	4.20	5.51
Madras	2.54	23.21	Central Province		
Mysore	38.02	67.65	States	10.82	13.48
Northern Provinces	18.28	46.57			
Punjab	7.96	18.37			

That is to say, two-thirds of the usurers of Assam have become landholders, and nearly one-half of them

In the North-western Provinces have ousted the original hereditary cultivators, who have taken to other occupations, or more frequently become serfs and day-labourers. Some effort was made, in consequence of the agricultural riots in Bombay, to protect the cultivators by the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Acts of 1879 and 1881, which enacted that when the land was mortgaged, the court, on failure of the tenant to repay the loan, could direct the land to be cultivated for seven years for the benefit of the money-lender, the debtor and his family being allowed sufficient to support them out of the proceeds, after which time the land is restored to the tenant. Nothing short of a general law, applicable to all India, will adequately meet this grave danger.

At present the land-tax is paid in silver, often borrowed by the cultivators, in the absence of agricultural banks, from the moneylenders at exorbitant rates of interest. So long as this method of collecting the revenue at fixed dates exists, and the people are not allowed the option of commuting their rents for a payment in grain, or prohibited by law from parting with their rights and interests in the land they hold, it is hopeless, if not actually fraudulent, to endeavour to raise a higher revenue from the smaller cultivators.

The opium revenue, chiefly on opium grown on about half a million acres in Benares and Berar, fell from over $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tens of rupees in 1884 to under $6\frac{3}{4}$ millions of tens of rupees in 1894. This source of income, if it does not finally disappear, will, for a variety of causes, be liable to still further de-

Notwithstanding the fact that the Report of the Commission, presented on the 16th of 1895, showed that no evil effects were to be expected from the rational use of the drug by the people.

The tax on opium is chiefly paid by the consumer, the revenue derived from the ancient monopoly of the sale of salt, whether obtained from Cheshire, or made by evaporation of brine in shallow tanks along the seashore, or obtained from the salt lakes of Rájputána, or dug from the salt hills of the Punjáb, is paid by the consumer, who by a series of irritating laws is prevented from engaging in the simple manufacture of an article so necessary for the health of an agricultural community and their cattle. The total revenue derived by Government from this monopoly amounted to 8,346,200 tens of rupees, in 1894 raised by a duty of 6s. 9d. per cwt., and the cost of salt to the family of five may be estimated at about two annuities. The excise duties bring in but 5½ millions of tens of rupees, and as tobacco is free, the incidence falls at about fourpence per pound, while in England it amounts to six times as much.

It thus be seen that there is but little hope of a great increase of revenue in the immediate future. Sir David Barbour, during the course of the International Bimetallic Conference in 1894, summed up the financial position of India as follows: "An immense country governed in accordance with exclusively Western ideas, an immense and poor popu-

lation, a narrow margin of possible additional taxation, claims for additional expenditure greatly in excess of possible additional revenue, a constant tendency for expenditure to outgrow revenue, a system of government in India favourable to increase of and unfavourable to reduction of expenditure, no financial control by intelligent and well-informed public opinion, either in India or in England."

At present the ordinary appeal in all these matters is to the Secretary of State for India who is aided by a Council of fifteen members appointed for a term of ten years, the members being mostly chosen on account of their intimate acquaintance with the affairs of India, where they have held high office. By the Act of 1858 which transferred the Government of India to the Crown, the Secretary of State in Council has control over the expenditure of the revenues of India. In pressing matters, where secrecy and despatch are required, such as those of foreign policy, the making of war, or the affairs of native states, the Secretary of State acts independently of his Council.

In India the Governor-General, commonly called Viceroy, and his Council are appointed by the Crown for a term which custom has loosely fixed at five years. The Council consists of five members; two nominated from the Civil Service, the third a military officer, the fourth a barrister in charge of the legislative department, and the fifth a member in charge of the finances. An additional member by an Act of 1874 may be appointed for the charge of public work, and the Commander-in-Chief is always an extraordinary member.

th the vote of the Viceroy a war policy can
y find the support of a majority in the Council
le of overruling any financial remonstrance or
ition.

e Legislative Council consists of the above
ative Council, strengthened by the addition of
ten to sixteen members, of whom not more
six may be officials.

Lord Cross's Act of 1892, the members of the
ative Council of the Governor-General, as well
se of the Local Governments in Madras, Bom-
Bengal, North-west Provinces, and Oudh, have
granted the privilege of discussing, and asking
ons on any financial statement, but members are
e Act forbidden to propose any resolution, or to
ny division in respect of any financial question.
dras and Bombay, including Sind, are each
istered by a local Governor, appointed by
Crown, with an Executive and Legislative
cil ; Bengal is ruled by a Governor-General
an Executive and Legislative Council, likewise
orth-west Provinces, while the Punjáb has no
lative Council, Assam and Burma and the Central
nces being governed by a Chief Commissioner.

internal administration and civil and criminal
iction British India is subdivided into 250
cts, each district, averaging in extent some 3,859
e miles, presided over by a senior member of
ovenanted Civil Service and two or three junior
anted assistants. These Covenanted Civilians
ne successors of the former writers or factors
nted and sent out by the East India Company.

By degrees, as the Company acquired territory, the factors assumed administrative functions, and in 1800, Lord Wellesley founded his college at Fort William for their systematic training. In 1805 the Company, not approving of Lord Wellesley's efforts, founded their own college at Haileybury, where civilians were educated for two years before being allowed to proceed to India. In 1853 the power of nominating their officers was withdrawn from the Company, and the appointments filled by candidates selected by open competition, a system which still continues.

In order to extend the employment of natives in the higher administrative posts, usually reserved for Covenanted Civilians, a statute of 1870 empowered the authorities in India to nominate natives to these appointments, and by the rules drawn up in 1879, one-sixth of the appointments made each year were reserved for them. The result of the appointments, made in accordance with these rules, was found not to be so satisfactory as had been hoped. A Public Service Commission, appointed in 1886, therefore recommended that the rules of 1879 should be annulled and a new service of the higher native officials in the Executive and Judicial services constituted, to be called the Provincial Civil Service, to which about one-sixth of the appointments usually held by the Covenanted Civil Service should be open. Of the 824 ordinary appointments held by members of the Covenanted Civil Service 93 were thrown open in 1892-3 to selected native officers of the Provincial Service.

On the 2nd of June, 1893, the House of Commons passed a resolution that "all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England, such examinations in both countries being equal in their nature, and all who compete being classified in one list according to merit." The Government of India, to whom this resolution was referred, pointed out to the Home Government the danger of lowering the present number—some 731 higher European officials now employed in governing a populace of 217½ millions of natives. It added that these Covenanted Civilians "represent the British Government in India. In the eyes of the people they are the British Government. It is their personal influence, their impartiality, justice, efficiency, their physical and moral fitness, that the administration of the Empire is entrusted to them, and not immediately upon military force, the strength rests. Any weakening of their influence, deterioration of their efficiency would imply a relaxation of the restraint of Government, and a reversion *pro tanto* to the condition from which the country was freed only when it came into British possession." The matter was finally summed up in the following memorandum forwarded by the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the 1st of November, 1893:—

"In the discussions in the House of Commons and elsewhere frequent mention has been made of the provisions of section 87 of the Statute 3 & 4 Will. IV.,

85, and of the declaration embodied in Her Majesty's Queen's Proclamation of November 1, 1858. The first of these enacted 'that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of Her Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company.' This provision, as is evident from its language, conveys no pledge of employment to any class, but merely declares that no person shall be subject to a disability on account of the matters stated. As observed by the Court of Directors, its object was not to ascertain qualification, but to remove disqualification.' The same Statute (sections 103-107) limited the supply of 'the vacancies in the civil establishments in India' to candidates nominated for admission to the East India Company's College at Haileybury; and at that time it need hardly be said that under this method of 'providing for the due qualification of persons to be employed in the Civil service of the Company,' the admission of natives of India to that service could, under any conceivable circumstances, scarcely have been contemplated. Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858, while announcing Her Royal will and pleasure that, '*so far as may be*, her subjects, of whatever race and creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Her service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge,' similarly limited, in the words italicised, the admission of natives of India to such offices by the

ount necessities of the Empire. The Statute of the same year (21 & 22 Vict., c. 106, s. 32), which appointments to the Indian Civil Service are still regulated, evidently contemplated appointments being made according to the results of an examination conducted in London under the superintendence of the Civil Service Commissioners. And it was in order to give effect to the Statute of 1858, in such manner as to counteract, *so far as might be*, the difficulties imposed by the Statute of 1858 on natives of India in coming to England to be examined, that the Statute of 1870 was passed into law. This Statute is restricted in its operation to natives of India. While other British-born subjects of Her Majesty can gain admission to the service only by the door provided by the Act of 1858, natives of India need not have recourse to that mode of entrance, but can be admitted—on proof of ‘their education, ability, and character’—by the procedure laid down in the Act of 1870. But the qualification expressed in the Statute of 1858—‘so far as may be’—still remains good; and although the Government of India in the last twenty years have assiduously endeavoured to promote the entrance into the higher branches of the Indian Public Service of duly qualified natives, the necessities of our position in the country have led us to limit the possibilities of such admission.”

According to the last Census of 1891 there were 1,016,900 English, Scotch, or Irish in India out of a total population of 288½ millions. In the Provincial Governments there were 2,449 natives of India employed

higher judicial and executive work. Altogether, out of 114,150 appointments carrying an annual salary of over 100 tens of rupees, 97 per cent. were held by natives of India. The full details show that there were 2,395,162 persons connected with the administration; 118,135 employed in local administration, and 3,086,856 in village service.

The administration of India, while yearly giving increased scope for the employment of natives of recognised ability, must be supervised by European officers who, by their independence from the rivalries ever recurring between conflicting religious bodies and by their freedom from race antipathies, are able to act impartially, and with determination in the suppression of local disorder or more serious outbreaks.

In place of the great inland cities of old, such as Agra, Delhi, Allahábád, Benares, and Lucknow, where emperors once reigned and priests held sway, surrounded by all the glamour of Oriental splendour and sacerdotal pomp, great seaport centres of commercial activity and Western enterprise have steadily grown to take their part in the history of the world's commerce: Calcutta, with its population greater than that of Glasgow; Bombay, with a population exceeding that of Leeds and Sheffield; and Madras, possessing a population more numerous than that of Dublin.

In 1856 there were but 300 miles of railway open in British India; by 1871 the three great modern cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras had been placed in railway communication with each other, and since which time the land has been traversed by a complete system of subsidiary lines opening up to

terprise the most important routes. .
 ch of rail sanctioned and opened up
 March, 1895, was 21,072 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles, while
 55 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles ready for traffic, and it is
 great increase may be looked for in the
 e, from the fact that a Parliamentary
 down, in 1884, the requirements of
 ss than 60,000 miles of rail. Of
 erling expended up to 1892 on the
 these railways, the Indian Govern-
 the sum of 153 millions sterling—an
 ch would now show a fair profit were
 earnings are in silver, and 5 per cent.
 aranteed on money raised in England
 tion of the earlier lines.

time roads well constructed, bridged,
 ong their entire course have replaced
 known as trunk roads, constructed
 le. The chief towns have also been
 in a sanitary condition, and as often
 ovided with an abundant supply of
 water brought from storage areas by
 neering works which rival, in many
 of a similar character possessed by
 West. Thus Bombay is now supplied
 n, the Tansa Reservoir, the construc-
 commenced in 1886 and was finished
 ost of £1,500,000. In order to carry
 e an artificial lake, from six to seven
 a area, was formed in the hills about
 north-west of Bombay, by construct-
 most two miles long across a natural

valley where the reservoir was formed. The water was conveyed through masonry conduits, over bridges, and through four miles of tunnels to Bombay in quantities sufficient to supply the town with upwards of 20,000,000 gallons daily.

Equally important are the great engineering works that have been carried out for distributing the surplus water of rivers and reservoirs to such tracts as are suitable for artificial irrigation, in order that the food supply of the country may be increased, and practical immunity afforded against famine. Over 13,000,000 acres of land now receive irrigation from artificial sources of supply, the water being distributed by over 16,000 miles of main and branch canals and 24,000 miles of minor channels, of which 16,000 are navigable, upwards of 32 millions sterling having been expended by the Government on these works alone.

The most remarkable project undertaken by Government for the purpose of irrigating an insufficiently supplied area, is that known as the Periyar Project in South India, only recently completed. The Periyar River had from of old carried off the surplus rainfall from the western gháts of Travancore to the sea near Cochin. The clouds borne in from the sea pour down their rain on these western barriers to the extent of 100 inches of rain yearly, the eastern side receiving but a fitful supply carried off by the slow-flowing Vaiga River through the rich lands of Madura and Ramnád, towards the east coast. The bold idea was conceived of diverting the excess flood of the Periyar River from its usual course to the west, and leading it by a tunnel

the mountains into the Vaiga River, so that the land plains of Madura and Ramnád might derive the benefit of the copious supply of rain from the Travancore Mountains.

The dam, 155 feet high, 1,200 feet long, and 166 feet wide at its base, was constructed across the valley of the Periyar River. An artificial lake was thereby formed in the western mountains of retaining over 13,000 millions of cubic feet of surplus water. The water of the lake was carried in a deep channel for 5,400 feet northwards to a tunnel, pierced in the mountains, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, 12 feet wide, through which it was led to the Vaiga River to flow east and be distributed by minor works over 150,000 acres of land in Madura and Ramnád.

At present, with the rapid increase of railways, and navigable canals, the mineral resources of the country are being rapidly developed.

The first coal mine, worked under British methods, was opened at Ránigánj in 1820. Since then mines have been worked in Sind, the North-west Provinces, Rajputána, Mysore, and Kashmír. In 1880 the coal output from Bengal and the Central Provinces was then the only sources of supply, was 1,019,793 tons. In 1894 the output reached 2,774,093 tons, and these were the well-recognised centres of supply. During the last four years the import of coal into India, where it was sold at merely ballast rates, fell from 656,867 tons to 591,007 tons, and it appears certain that in the long India will be able to supply sufficient coal for her own wants, but even for exportation.

The supply of petroleum, especially from Burma and Assam, and in a minor degree from the Punjab and Balúchistán, is increasing, as may be seen from the following return :—

	Produced in			
	1888.	1891.	1892.	1893.
	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
Burma	2,794,000	5,793,000	8,098,000	10,276,000
Balúchistán	34,000	138,000	3,000	—
Punjab	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Assam	—	23,000	22,000	82,000
Total	2,830,000	6,136,000	8,725,000	10,360,000

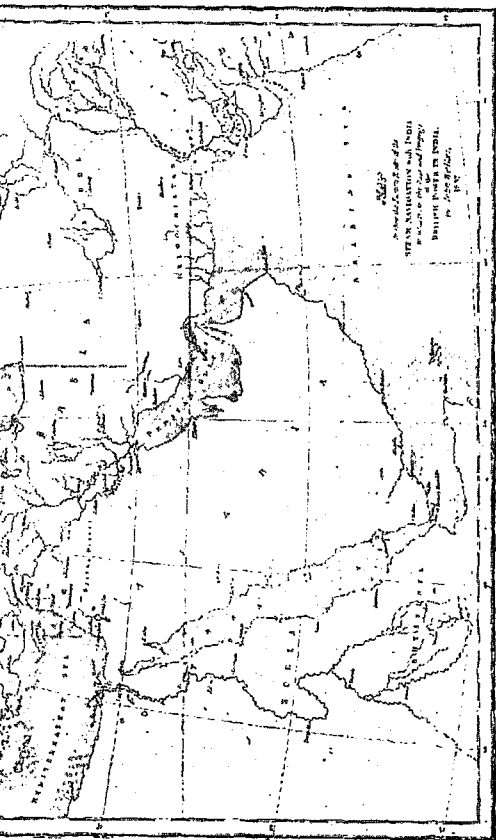
The gold mines of India also yield satisfactory and promising returns, the output from the eight principal mines of Mysore being as follows :—

	1888.	1892.	1893.	1894.
Quantity of gold extracted	Ounces. 35,034	Ounces. 103,188	Ounces. 207,135	Ounces. 209,714
Approximate value of gold extracted	Rx. 193,059	Rx. 980,000	Rx. 1,449,000	Rx. 1,540,000

Although iron is smelted as a local industry in many parts of India, and the ore is found in great richness in many places, it is only now worked after European methods at Barákhār with any degree of commercial success.

The modern development of India as a factor in the commercial history of the world may be said to date from the year 1822, when the idea of trading

on to the East by means of steam navigation first proposed, although it was not until August, 1825, that the first steamer, the



of 479 tons register, reached Calcutta, on 10th July, after a journey of 106 days.

Ferdinand de Lesseps conceived the

carrying out the project of joining the Red Sea to the Mediterranean by a canal 100 miles long from Suez to Port Said, so as to once more bring commerce of the East to its ancient route and prosperity to the cities of the Mediterranean. The opposition of England on political grounds to the construction of the canal forced French and foreign capitalists to raise the requisite sum for carrying out of the project. By the 17th of January, 1869, the canal was opened for navigation. £10,000,000 sterling having been spent on its construction. On the 25th of November, 1875, the British Government purchased shares to the extent of £4,000,000 in the Suez Canal, where the interests of the English became so predominant that out of the ships passing in 1890, 70 per cent. were British. The growth in trade that has ensued, between the United Kingdom and India, can be estimated from the fact that when the exclusive monopoly of the East India Company was drawing to a close in 1814 the total value was but £1,870,690, while in 1894, of £1,333 sterling of British products exported to India was a customer for goods to the value of £29,300,069.

Wool and cotton manufactures form the most important items of Indian trade amounting to one-third of the whole. The cheap production of cotton

in India roused the animosity of English manufacturers as early as the year 1700, when they succeeded in getting an Act of Parliament passed prohibiting these goods coming into England to compete with home products. The introduction of

processes, especially the use of steam power, to England an easy supremacy in the manufacture of textile goods over the laborious process of hand looms of the East, Lancashire growing rich in wealth and property, the village industry gradually declining.

In the year 1851 the first cotton mill was started in Bombay, and in 1859 the Finance Minister, James Wilson, raised the import duty on cotton yarns from 10 per cent. Mr. Samuel Laing reduced the duty again to 5 per cent., a rate which Lord Lytton refused to lower. Under the rule of Lord Lytton the finer cotton goods—those made of lighter than thirties—were exempted from importation into India—a policy of so-called free trade carried further by Lord Ripon, who reduced the import duty. Notwithstanding this Indian mills succeeded in competing successfully with the coarser class of goods with those of Lancashire. In consequence of the pressing financial embarrassment of India, the import duty on cotton was reimposed towards the close of 1894, and a new duty levied on all cotton yarns produced in India of counts over twenty, in which it was expected the Lancashire mills would retain an easy monopoly, so that the trade in the coarser class of goods might be left in the hands of native mills. The recent legislation of 1896 has reduced the import duty to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* on cotton goods and cotton manufactures, and imposed a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on woven goods of all counts manufactured by Indian mills.

For long it was considered that the Indian mills could not produce yarns of a higher count than twenty-fours, but of late it has become evident that India can produce goods of a quality as fine as those imported from abroad if the manufacture proves a financial success. There are now over 140 cotton mills in India which employ some 130,000 labourers. These mills are gradually being brought under the regulations of the English Factory Act, with the intention of reducing the time of labour to eleven hours, with one hour's rest in the middle of the day, and of restricting the hours of employment of women.

The principal articles of merchandise imported to India and the growth of the trade during the course of five years is as follows:—

	1889-90.	1893-4.
	Rx.	Rx.
Cotton goods and yarn	29,873,928	32,377,460
Metals, including hardware and cutlery ...	6,802,177	7,580,282
Minerals, chiefly mineral	2,645,213	3,570,188
Wool, raw and manufactured	2,845,159	3,188,053
Oil and gar	2,200,049	2,824,190
Machinery and millwork	2,435,385	2,518,038
Woolen goods	1,455,235	1,892,042
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, and medicines, &c. ...	1,280,556	1,837,570
Provisions	1,506,565	1,782,868
Clothing and apparel	1,296,394	1,578,049
Alcohol and liquors	1,465,144	1,458,204
Railway material	1,821,337	1,242,977
Coal	1,308,590	972,588
Grains and pulses	852,350	873,655
Oil	894,532	791,067
Glass and glassware	647,127	788,480
Paper and pasteboard	407,479	494,208
Umbrellas	314,106	480,933

Exports of Indian merchandise are shown in list :—

	1889-90.	1893-94.
and pulse	16,528,225	16,325,142
raw	18,668,404	13,296,670
... ..	10,627,553	16,753,251
... ..	10,115,936	8,019,428
yarns and cloth	6,753,743	6,242,558
raw	8,639,861	8,524,130
... ..	5,277,650	6,585,835
and skins	4,524,261	5,801,328
... ..	3,863,084	4,182,128
manufactures	2,791,242	3,441,787
... ..	1,480,872	2,002,171
raw	1,085,637	1,079,772
other than indigo)	683,288	841,073
... ..	488,513	960,330
ons	624,425	873,877
and timber	870,119	589,764
raw	639,818	698,000
including paraffin wax	555,007	535,881
... ..	917,179	892,741

Following, showing the imports of tea from China, and Ceylon, to England points out the rapid growth of the demand for Indian Ceylon tea and the corresponding decrease in demand for the more delicate China teas. The figures are given in lbs. 000's omitted.

	From India.	From Ceylon.	From China.
4	63,208	2,211	143,771
5	64,382	4,242	139,673
6	73,467	7,144	145,308
7	84,645	13,062	119,799
8	89,874	22,509	105,735
9	95,384	32,673	88,558
0	101,771	42,491	73,743
1	109,638	61,900	62,284
2	111,711	66,042	57,051
3	115,023	72,631	56,209

While from the earliest days of the Company the development of commerce and increase in the wealth of the country has received the first attention of its Western rulers the intellectual and moral welfare of the people have also claimed the earnest attention of the State.

The first step taken under the rule of the Company towards connecting the State with the education of the people was, in 1781, when Warren Hastings founded a Muhammadan College at Calcutta, an enlightened policy carried on by Mr. Jonathan Duncan who established a college at Benares, in 1791, for the encouragement of Sanskrit learning among the Hindûs.

The Rev. H. B. Hyde, in one of a learned and painstaking series of articles to the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* has recently pointed out that in 1788 Mr. John Owen, Chaplain to the Bengal Presidency, addressed a memorial, signed by all the chaplains then stationed at Calcutta, to the Government, urging that schools should be established, "in proper situations for the purpose of teaching our language to the natives of these provinces," so that "the beneficence of Great Britain would acquire a more glorious Empire over a benighted people than conquest has ever yet bestowed." This very curious and interesting petition, which, as Mr. Hyde remarks, has been overlooked by all historians, does not appear to have received any attention from Government.

From the year 1799 the renowned Baptist missionaries Marshman and Ward, who had settled at a small Danish settlement at Serampur, set up a print-

and commenced to print and distribute
ar literature, and by 1815 they had estab-
venty schools in the vicinity of Calcutta, with
of 800 native children.

he first time, either at home or abroad, the
e that the instruction of the people was an
1 part of the duties of the State was clearly
ted by the Charter Act of 1813. By this Act
declared that "it shall be lawful for the
or-General in Council to direct that out of any
which may remain of the rents, revenues, and
arising from the said territorial acquisitions,
fraying the expenses of the military, civil, and
cial establishments, and paying the interest
ebt, . . . a sum not less than one lac of rupees
year shall be set apart and applied to the
and improvement of literature, and the
gement of the learned natives of India, and
introduction and promotion of a knowledge of
ences among the inhabitants of the British
ies in India." The lakh of rupees herein re-
to was transferred to a General Committee
blic Instruction, appointed by the Bengal
ment in 1823, for the purpose of devising
es "with a view to the better instruction of
ople, to the introduction among them of useful
dge, and to the improvement of their moral
er."

more advanced natives of India were naturally
that these State Funds should be employed
ouraging the study of English instead of
n learning. The Committee of Public Instruc-

tion, however, preferred to found Oriental colleges at Agra and Delhi, thereby drawing down on themselves, in 1824, the retort of the Court of Directors that "in professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindú, or mere Muhammadan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder, indeed, in which utility was not in any way concerned." The object of the Directors in thus urging the necessity of an English education was to raise a class of natives fitted for employment in the civil administration, so that gradually English would become the language in which public business might be transacted—a policy sedulously supported by the educated class of natives, and, as a rule, reprobated by the Indian officials.

When the renewal of the Company's Charter was proposed to the House of Commons in 1833 by Mr. Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control, it was laid down that the duty of the Company was the "extending the commerce of this country, and of securing the good government, and promoting the religious and moral improvement of the people of India."

Lord W. Bentinck, acting under the influence of Lord Macaulay, announced on the 7th of March that he was "of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education should be best employed on English education alone."

new difficulty immediately arose. It was considered that by the favour shown by the Government to the education of the natives in English language and modes of thought, attempts were being made to undermine the native religions and gradually convert the people to Christianity. The point was expressed by the Rev. Alexander Duff who, in his examination on the subject before the House of Commons in 1835, said, "We cannot but lament that no provision whatever has been made for substituting the only true religion—Christianity—in place of the religions which our literature and science will ultimately demolish."

These doubts and hopes were put an end to by Lord William Bentinck who, as quoted by the learned Sir Mahmoed in his recent valuable "*History of English Education in India*," declared that "the fundamental principle of British rule, the compact to which the Government stands solemnly pledged is strict religious neutrality. To this important maxim policy, as well as conscience and faith, have enjoined upon us the most scrupulous observance. The same maxim is peculiarly applicable to general education. In all schools and colleges supported by Government this principle cannot be too strongly enforced, all interference and all conscious tampering with the religious belief of the natives, all mingling direct or indirect teaching of Christianity with the system of instruction, ought to be positively forbidden."

The despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 laid down the principle that English was to be a medium of instruction only in the higher branches of education,

and that the vernacular was to be employed in the lower grades of schools. Under the terms of the same despatch universities were to be established for the Presidency chief towns, after the model of the University of London for examining pupils and granting degrees in arts, law, medicine, and civil engineering; those of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay in 1857, of the Punjab at Lahore in 1882, and of the North-western Provinces at Allahábád in 1887.

According to the Report of an Education Commission of 1882, presided over by Sir William Wilson Hunter, it was decided that Government should gradually withdraw from all direct work in connection with secondary education, and leave such schools to be supported by private efforts supplemented by grants in aid. The number of colleges teaching for universities and schools, and their progress during ten years since that date is shown by the following statement :—

GRADE.	1881-82.		1891-92.	
	No.	Pupils.	No.	Pupils.
University (Arts)	86	8,127	104	12,985
University (Professional)	24	2,411	37	3,292
Secondary	4,432	418,412	4,872	473,204
Primary	90,700	2,537,502	97,109	2,837,007
Normal	135	4,949	152	5,146
Technical	180	8,503	402	10,586
TOTAL	95,566	2,979,904	102,676	3,348,910

The following list gives the increase during five



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